

The Revolution.

PRINCIPLE, NOT POLICY JUSTICE, NOT FAVORS.—MEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING MORE: WOMEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING LESS.

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WHOLE NO. 101.

The Revolution.

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Poetry.

THE SINGING LESSON.

A NIGHTINGALE made a mistake ;
She sang a few notes out of tune ;
Her heart was ready to break,
And she hid from the moon.
And wrung her claws, poor thing,
But was far too proud to speak ;
She tucked her head under her wing,
And pretended to be asleep.

A lark, arm-in-arm with a thrush,
Came sauntering up to the place ;
The nightingale felt herself blush,
Though feathers hid her face ;
She knew they heard her song,
She felt them snicker and sneer ;
She thought this life was too long,
And wished she could skip a year.

“ O nightingale ! ” cooed a dove,
“ O nightingale ! what’s the use ;
You bird of beauty and love,
Why behave like a goose ?
Don’t skulk away from our sight
Like a common contemptible fowl ;
You bird of joy and delight,
Why behave like an owl ?

Only think of all you have done ;
Only think of all you can do ;
A false note is really fun
From such a bird as you ?
Lift up your proud little crest ;
Open your musical beak ;
Other birds have to do their best,
You need only to speak.”

The nightingale shyly took
Her head from under her wing,
And giving the dove a look,
Straightway began to sing.
There was never a bird could pass ;
The night was divinely calm ;
And the people stood on the grass
To hear that wonderful psalm !

The nightingale did not care,
She only sang to the skies ;
Her song ascended there,
And there she fixed her eyes.
The people that stood below
She knew but little about ;
And this story’s a moral I know
If you’ll try to find it out !

JEAN INGELOW.

He who to godly wisdom frames his life
Is counted mean, and spiritless and vile ;
And as he walks uprightly in the path
To heaven, fools him with serpent tongue,
And pour contempt upon his name.

POLLOCK.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

LA CROSSE, Wis., Nov. 25, 1869.

DEAR REVOLUTION : This morning, after twenty-four hours in the lightning express, I found myself in a pleasant room at the International Hotel looking out on the great mother (?) of waters, on whose cold bosom the ice and the steamers are now struggling for mastery.

Beyond, stretch the snow-clad bluffs, sternly looking down on the Mississippi, as if to say, thus far shalt thou come, and no farther—though sluggish, you are aggressive, ever pushing where you should not ; but all attempts in this direction are alike vain ; since creation’s dawn, we have defied you, and here we stand to-day calm, majestic, immovable. Coquette as you will in other latitudes, with flowery banks and youthful pairs in the busy marts of trade, and undermine them one and all with your deceitful wooings, but bow in reverence as you gaze on us. We have no eyes for your beauty ; no ears for your endless song ; our heads are in the clouds, our hearts commune with gods ; you have no part in the eternal problems of the ages, that fill our thoughts ; yours the humble duty to wash our feet, and then pass on, remembering to keep in your appropriate sphere, within the banks that wise geographers have seen fit to mark.

As I listened to these complacent hills and watched poor Mississippi weeping as she sailed along, to lose her sorrows in ocean’s depths, I thought how like the attitude of man to woman. Let these proud hills remember that they, too, slumbered for centuries in deep valleys down, down, when, perchance, the sparkling Mississippi rolled above their heads, and but for some generous outburst, some upheaval of old mother earth, wishing that her rock-ribbed sons, as well as graceful daughters, might enjoy the light, the sunshine and the shower ; but for this soul of love in matter as well as mind, these bluffs and the sons of Adam, too, might not boast the attitude they glory in to-day.

Those who have ears to hear discern low rumbling noises that foretell convulsions in our social world, that may, perchance, in the next upheaval, bring woman to the surface ; up, up, from gloomy ocean depths, dark caverns and damper valleys. The struggling daughters of earth are soon to walk in the sunlight of a higher civilization.

At Coldwater, I had a good hotel, kept by a southern lady. Everything was cooked admirably ; good tea, coffee, oysters and a pleasant room. Let all the Lyceum wags go to the Watson House, if they would be in a harbor of rest. There, too, there is a pleasant Hall, appreciative audiences, and an enthusiastic young farmer is President of the Lyceum—a common sense young man who, after graduating at Ann Arbor, decided, instead of starving at the law, to work with his hands and brain at the same time. When all men go to their legitimate business of creating wealth, developing

the resources of the country and leave its mere exchange to the weaker sex, we shall not have so many superfluous women in the world with nothing to do. It is evident the time has come to hunt man into his appropriate sphere. Coming from Chicago, I met Gov. Fairchild, and Senator Williams of Wisconsin. It was delightful to find them thoroughly grounded in the faith of Woman’s Suffrage. They have been devout readers of THE REVOLUTION ever since Miss Anthony induced them to subscribe last winter at Madison. Of course, a new glow of intelligence irradiates their fine faces (for they are remarkably handsome men) and there is a new point to all their words. Senator W., like myself, is on a lecturing tour. “ Man ” is his theme, for which we should be devoutly thankful, for if there are any of God’s creatures that need lecturing to, it is this one that is forever advising us. I was thinking to-day of all the men, from Father Gregory down to Horace Bushnell, who had wearied their brains to describe woman’s sphere, and how signally they had failed. I wish Senator Williams could be invited to deliver this lecture before eastern Lyceums, that our sires and sons might be led to the consideration of that divine command, “ Know thyself.” After parting with these gentlemen, with a most exalted idea of Wisconsin, its men and state institutions, I fell into conversation with a very intelligent man from Minnesota who told me of the great advantages his state possessed over Wisconsin. While Minnesota has a school fund of over a million of dollars, with splendid school houses in every large town, Wisconsin has frittered the Federal gifts all away. It seems there was one legislature known as the “ forty thieves,” who saw fit to speculate in the school lands, and by some unhappy accident (of course no one was to blame) the money that should have gone into the school fund went into the respective pockets of John Doe and Richard Roe. But it is said, a new moral code rules under Gov. Fairchild ; the fact that he has been elected three times shows that the people respect honesty and honor in their chief executive officer. I feel that

I have been of great pecuniary service to my sex in this town, in preventing many of them from buying insurance tickets. I keep a ticket always on hand to show them that invidious passage, “ No woman insured against accident,” which declaration I invariably accompany with the suggestion, that although we need but little here below, we need that little in life rather than death, in cases of accidents in the flesh, rather than when the spirit is set free.

I have also been of great use, to the travelling public, in keeping the ventilators in the cars open, and the dampers in fire stoves shut up, especially in sleeping cars at night. How many times a day I think of what the sainted Horace Mann tried to impress on his stupid countrymen, that inasmuch as the air is forty miles deep all around the globe, it is a useless piece of economy to breathe any number of cubic feet over more than seven times !

The babies, too, have need to be thankful

that I was in a position to witness their wrongs. Many, through my intercessions, have received their first drink of water and chicken bone, and been emancipated from woolen hoods, veils, tight strings under their chins, and endless swaddling bands. It is a startling assertion, but true, that I have never met half a dozen women who knew how to take care of a baby. On my return trip I am to lecture to my fair countrywomen on "Marriage and Maternity," hoping to aid in the inauguration of a new era of healthy, happy babies, instead of the miserable, maimed, pining things that cumber the earth to-day.

Dr. Anderson has just called to invite me to visit Mr. Pomeroy's editorial sanctum. His temperance, charity, business honor and public spirit are highly spoken of here by those who know him best.

E. C. S.

LA CROSSE, Nov. 26th.

Escorted by Mr. Woodward, a member of the bar, this morning has been devoted to the lions of the city. First we explored the Court House, a large, new brick building, from whose dome we had a grand view of the surrounding country, the majestic Mississippi, the bold bluffs on all sides, and the extended plane on which the town is built.

The court-room, where justice is administered, is large, clean, airy, the bench carpeted and adorned with a large, green, stuffed chair, in which I sat down, and, in imagination, summoned up advocates, jurors, prisoners and people, and wondered how I should feel pronouncing sentence of death on a fellow-being, or, like Portia, wisely checkmating the Shylocks of our times. I trust good Mr. Bovee will hunt down the gallows and our financiers, the Fisks, Jr., the Drews, and the Vanderbilts, before I am elected Judge of the Supreme Court. I should be more merciful towards the rogues in chains, than those who are too cunning ever to fall into the teeth of the law. Here I met Judge Hugh Cameron, formerly of Johnstown. He invited us into his sanctum, where we had a pleasant chat about our native hills, Scotch affiliations, the bench and bar of New York and the Wisconsin laws for women. The Judge, having maintained a happy bachelor state, looks placidly on the aggressive movements of the sex, as his domestic felicity will be in no way affected, whether woman is voted up or down.

We next surveyed the Pomeroy building, which consists of a large, tastefully finished hall and printing establishment, where the *La Crosse Democrat* was formerly published. As I saw the perfection, order, good taste, refinement and elegance, in all the arrangements throughout, and listened to Mr. Huren's description of the life and leading characteristics of his chief, it seemed impossible to reconcile the tone of the *Democrat* with the moral status of the man. I never saw a more elegant business establishment, and the editorial sanctum looks as if it might be the abiding place of the muses; mirrors, pictures, statuary, books, music, rare curiosities, and fine specimens of birds and minerals. Over the editor's table is a beautiful painting of his youthful daughter, flaxen hair, blue eyes and pure white dress, an angelic face that might have inspired a father to nobler, purer, utterances than he has been wont to give the world.

But Pomeroy's good deeds will live long after his profane words are forgotten. Throughout the establishment cards set up in conspicuous places, say, "Smoking here is positively forbidden;" drinking, too, is forbidden in all his em-

ployees. The moment a man is discovered to use intoxicating drinks, he is dismissed at once. In the upper story of the building is a large, pleasant room, handsomely carpeted and furnished, gas lights, books, pictures, etc., where the employees always had an inviting home-life, in their leisure hours, where they could talk, write, read or amuse themselves in any rational way. It would be a good idea for our N. Y. editors to have some such places for the poor boys and girls who set their type, whose homes are in damp cellars and dingy garrets, without light or fire, or anything to gratify the love of the beautiful, implanted in every human soul. They say Pomeroy is humane and generous with his employees, honorable in his business relations, and boundless in his charities to the poor. That a journal does not always reflect the editor, is as much the fault of society as the man. So long as the public will pay for gross personalities, profanity, obscenity and slang, high-toned journals will be outbid in the market. The fact that the *La Crosse Democrat* found a ready sale in all parts of the country showed that Mr. Pomeroy fairly reflected the popular taste. While multitudes turned up the whites of their eyes and denounced him in public, they bought his paper and read it on the sly.

La Crosse can boast Nicholson pavement, gas, and at least one gifted lawyer, physician, and good hotel, to my knowledge.

E. C. S.

ALL HANDS SHOULD WORK.

BY HELEN MARSH.

God has given the power to wield a certain amount of influence in the right direction, if we choose to use it; the harness legitimately belongs to every daughter of Eve whether on the rostrum, at the press, or by the hearthstone. There can be as much accomplished towards creating a favorable public sentiment through judicious private effort, as by our pioneers in a public capacity. There are those who are a hindrance to the movement through fear of domestic "unpleasantness," or social ostracism. These lack the bravery to meet the torrent of ridicule and contempt that would follow were they to acknowledge the possession of ideas and aspirations above and beyond what modern churchism dictates, or rigid custom allows. These form a large class. There is but one course for such to pursue if they wish to advance a single step. Arouse, and shake off the fetters that are binding you! Disengage yourselves from that society whose psychological influence rests like an incubus on your mental and moral being, crushing out every instinct of a free and higher womanhood! Free yourselves from that thralldom which stamps out individuality, which, by the law of might, stunts and dwarfs the nobler faculties and merges you at once in the imbecile and slave! Rise in the might of a noble and holy purpose, and throw the whole weight of your moral influence against the combined force of tyranny, corruption and superstition. There is no tie that should compel a meek submission to present situations. Simulating respect for persons or institutions whose heel on our neck is grinding us down, is most ignoble folly. Hesitancy in the path of clearly-defined duty is moral cowardice and longer enslavement. As well expect to turn back the tides of old ocean at one's command, as to inspire a woman constantly cognizant of social and political insignificance, with true respect for any man, be he husband, or what not, whose low estimate in

the scale of being, of his own wife, sister, and mother, places her below the most ignorant male and on a level with the vilest! It is particularly aggravating to the enlightened wife to hear her legal master express himself in favor of, and using every effort for the enfranchisement of all shades of male humanity, while she, no matter how good, wise, or wealthy, is a serf or slave. There is no position our present society or theology offers but is degrading to any woman to accept. There are various ways in which an earnest person may do good service. First in importance is keeping well-informed. There are not many so poor but might, by the sacrifice of a trifle now and then, spare sufficient to procure *THE REVOLUTION*. Then, by circulation and obtaining new subscriptions for it, the leaven will be introduced, and many will be found receptive to the truth and ready to wheel into line for action.

J O A N.

CHAPTER II.

"The laborer is worthy of his hire."

That saying was much in Mrs. Tinker's mind, as in the hot work of getting up a dinner of boiled pork and vegetables, the perpetual buzz and bite of flies nearly drove her wild, aside from the worry of having them drop dead by dozens into the dishes. Emboldened and fortified by a glimmering perception of her rights as a faithful laborer, she yielded for once to her womanly craving to have her surroundings neat, convenient and tasteful, and, taking heart of grace, resolved, should Mr. Tinker show himself favorably disposed toward the purchase of nets, to go farther and ask him to buy split blinds for the kitchen windows.

When her time came she felt a prescient sinking of the heart, which betrayed itself in hesitancy of speech. "Darby—I wish—The flies are so thick and bothersome! We'd ought to have netting for the winders." Of which wild suggestion Darby takes no notice whatever; he seldom encourages his wife's attempts at conversation. "Couldn't you spare some money?" from Mrs. Tinker, with a forlorn affection of ease.

"How much 'll they cost!" in a morose *basso profundo*.

"Two or three dollars, I suppose."

"No, I can't. What, with such a family to support, and a dollar for this and a dollar for that, I ain't able to afford luxuries. You'll have to get along without 'em," said Mr. Darby Tinker, gruffly, as hitching up his pantaloons, he lounged off to the tavern, where he spent more than half that sum every week, in tobacco and potations.

But then, as Mr. Tinker justly observed, "a man who works hard must have some comforts! 'All work and no play, makes Jack a dull boy!'" And Alviry, whom he detested from his inmost soul, as what man wouldn't!—luckily for him, was not at hand to suggest that similar causes might produce similar effects in the case of Gill.

It was a sultry evening; a feeling of lassitude and fatigue made Mrs. Tinker long to sit in the cool, front porch, in her rocking-chair, and rest. But there was coffee to be roasted for Sunday, and that haunting mending-basket to be depleted of its contents, so the light-stand was drawn up to the stove, and hose and garments set to rights in the intervals of stirring, until at nine o'clock the tired eyes refused to

aid the over-tasked hands, and Mrs. Tinker yielded to the insidious advances of sleep.

Sunday morning, Mr. Tinker irate, his face glowering redly above his immaculate shirt-front, suddenly burst open the kitchen door, where his wife was tying up the little Tinkers shoes, preparatory to dressing them for Sabbath School.

"Mis Tinker!" what could be coming? "did you attend to that button on my Sunday coat?"

In the multiplicity of the demands on her attention, she had forgotten "that button," as she was forced to acknowledge with painfully flushing cheeks, in tones deprecatingly humble.

"I had so much to see to, yesterday," she ventured, in extenuation.

"Humph! That's always the complaint. Woman's work is never done! And why?" proceeded Mr. Tinker, loftily conscious of his Sunday best; "it's because you hain't got no system about doin' up the chores. That's it!—that's it! You don't have more'n other wimmen, but you ain't spry,—and, you hain't got no system! But, if I'm goin' to meetin' to-day, Mis Tinker, I've got to have that button fixed somehow!"

"I'll attend, to it, right off, Darby," she said meekly, for Mr. Tinker never could bear to be kept waiting. Meekly thereafter she hurried to dress the children and herself; and meekly, as was her spirit, she received the preacher's text which, appropriately to the season, was the curse laid on man, to eat his bread by the sweat of his brow, which text formed the basis of a long discourse on Original Sin.

At noon, the congregation dispersed to eat their lunch of apple pie and cheese, and exchange neighborly greetings. Mrs. Tinker, straying forlornly among the graves, came suddenly upon Alviry, comfortably eating her lunch, with her back against the hchen-mottled tablet of a departed disciple, and forming, with her bright, smiling face, a cheerful contrast to the dismal gothm sculptured in the stone, that seemed to leer with his one visible eye, in ghastly fashion, over her plump shoulder.

"Comfortin' discourse?" said Alviry, making room for Mrs. Tinker on the old grave, and flinging the crumbs off her lap, simultaneously; "Such sermons make me think of the fig-tree that was cursed because it was barren. Lor! what blind leaders of the blind its the gift o' some people to be! Says I, to myself this mornin', I've had an uncommon hard-workin' week on't, an' I need rest, if ever a body did. My heart was a-rejoicin' an' a-singin' psalms of praise like a medder-lark, because of the blessedness of the gift of a Day of Rest to mortals. I felt kind o' raised up in spirit, 's if I'd got a clearer vision of spiritual things. Seems as if I could have follerd an inspired preacher, way to the pearly gates, I was that elevated! P'raps I took the day in too literal a sense, but I thought I'll go to meetin', and get the best kind o' repose." It's what I need. So, here I come, hungry in soul and tired in body, and what on earth does that man do, but drive away at curses an' everlastin' torment, as if we were all a pack of luxurious sinners 't needed stirrin' up instead of restin'! Wall! natur had its revenge, for Deacon Pogram, though he struggled hard against it, dropped off in the corner of his pew, and ever so many more follered on, just because they couldn't help it. Mis Pogram, she figgetted and poked the deacon, and some

the other pillars tried chewin' on fennel,

though 'twarn't no use! But, goodness alive! not a wink could I get, for some how, I fell a-thinkin' howt that curse was pronounced on man, and another on woman, and yet there ain't a married woman amongst my acquaintance that don't have to shoulder both on 'em in the long run; a-groanin' for her children, and a-sweatin' for her bread, even if her husband's well-to-do; whilst a man has got only his own particular curse to bear, and a lazy man 'll shirk even that. So I just hurried out here, where it's cool, and quiet, for the air and the rustlin' of the leaves is particlar soothin' to my spirits, and I've always noticed this thing, Mis Tinker; that God's own sunshine somehow takes the scorch out of the gloomiest theology; and if the short-sighted wisdom of man, a-tryin' to save us by playin' on the cowardly parts of our natur's, stirs us up to bitterness, hardenin' of our hearts like a nether mill-stone, the blue sky, and the soft summer wind, and the long grass a-wavin' like green billows over the graves, make it easy, somehow, to trust that we are bein' led step by step, to better things."

"What better things, Alviry?" asked Mrs. Tinker with listless incredulity.

"Wall, 'taint easy to particlarize just what, Mis Tinker, but I reckon they'll work themselves out by the *law of reaction*. When a sick pusson gets to the crisis, they begin to mend or they pass away! There's lots of evils in this world that don't need to be, only some folks is keerless and let 'em get standin' room, and then other folks is too meek to put 'em down. Now meekness is nothin' short of a crime in my eyes, as people practice it now-days. Women hev no right to go and be humble an' yieldin'. If God gave 'em rights, he meant they should hev 'em and use 'em,—not give 'em away. Besides, women are responsible for the injury it does to the character of men, makin' of 'em overbearin' and haughty in spirit. After you've been put upon with your own consent, long's you can stan' it, p'raps you'll begin to see what I see long ago, that while you're a-wearin' the grace o' humility threadbare, there's the dignity o' womanhood, that you've abdicated when you'd better o' clung to 't."

"The Lord, as I understand it, created woman for a help-meet, not for a beast of burden, for man. Wall, when a woman's frittered herself to death a-drudgin' like a bond-maid, how 's she goin' to perform the duties of her station, when her husband comes home worn out with sufferin' his part o' the curse? That's the time for the help-meet to come in efficient, bright and chipper; and that's the time when they're as limp as rags, and so frayed out, 't they're an eye-sore instead. The very sight of 'em is a silent reproach, and drives the men-folks off to the tavern to drown the voice o' conscience.

"But human natur's human natur'! and if a woman *lets* herself be ordered and put upon, why, she *will* be ordered and put upon.

"As I reason, woman's position at home—and fust and last, I've thought on't a good deal,—is in a great measure her own fault. Tyrants can't flourish unless they find some one weak and cowardly, or yieldin' enough to be tyrannical over. That's what I call a self-evident position! All this meekness for the sake of peace and quietness is just sinful sloth, in my mind. What if they do bluster and scold? A little more or less don't make no great difference; and after a storm there's always a calm!

"Now, I know what you're a-thinkin', Mis Tinker. You're a-sayin' to yourself, 'It's all very well for Alviry to talk, but she don't know,'

—don't I, though? 'It takes a deal of courage to stan' up an' fight for your rights!'

"Ah! it does so, Mis Tinker, it does so! but I don't seem to remember ever to have heard that from the time of Adam down, any good cause was ever achieved, without some fightin' for 't."

MRS. PAT MOLOY AGAIN.

DEAR REVOLUTION: I have not expressed my mind for the benefit of your readers for a long time, and the reason why is this. Mr. Greeley said a few months ago that women did not want to vote, and I have been enquiring into this matter, because, you see, I should not want to force a responsibility upon my sisters which they would not wish to take care of, and if women are really opposed to becoming, as Nasby says, the "coming man," I do not wish to be the inhuman instrument in aiding or abetting any such work.

Now, I am convinced that you are misguided, and when I relate you my experience you will at once abandon THE REVOLUTION, and advise Mrs. Stanton, and poor, dear Lucy Stone, and Mrs. Livermore to hide their diminished heads.

In the first place, I went down to see my grandmother and talk with her on the subject. Now, by the way, my grandmother is a model old lady. She does not believe in new fangled notions, though I never heard her say that we ought to continue to this day wearing fig-leaf aprons because our worthy ancestors, Adam and Eve, did; but she thinks it would be very wrong indeed to give woman the ballot, because it *never was done*, and the world has got along well enough up to this present time. When my grandmother was a girl she was in the habit of hoeing corn in the summer season from five o'clock in the morning until seven at night. Then she went home, got supper, milked from five to six cows, and washed the supper dishes, prepared the things for breakfast, said her prayers, blew out her tall candle and went to bed. This was all strictly in woman's sphere, but she would never, for a moment, harbor the "idea" that she should so far forget her place as to even desire a voice in making the laws under which she lived, and by which she was governed. There were wise men enough to make these laws, and it is clearly out of place for women to talk about such things. My grandmother, as she assured me, is a great deal older than I, and has seen a great deal more of the world than I have (though she has never, in her life, been twenty miles from home), and she don't want to vote, and why should I? As for women preaching, St. Paul (and he was an old bachelor and wanted women to keep their places) says: "Let your women keep silence in the churches," and that was a great many years ago, when the world was much wiser than it is now, before people wasted their substance on Atlantic submarine cables or Pacific Railways. In fact, I don't suppose there was any question but that St. Paul was good authority upon almost any subject, and, therefore, I gracefully yield to his decision, and would not accept a call from the Plymouth Church, even if they should offer me a thousand dollars a year more than they do the present incumbent.

Then my grandmother wanted to know how it would look for me to "go salin' down the street to the polls, in order to vote, with my broth of a boy in my arms, and Bridget hanging to my dress on one side and Peggy on the other." "Clearly," she said, "it would be very unbecomin'," though she did not say anything about my going to church in that way, but, as I infer,

it is improper to take the darlings out where the vulgar gaze of men should fall upon them, and, as according to St. Paul, I cannot be of any particular use in church, I suppose I ought to stay at home from church also.

Then another argument against women voting is this: It would cost just double what it does now at election for whiskey; for if women vote they must learn to drink whiskey also. They would have to learn to swear, too, because the men swear at the polls always, especially if they begin to fear their candidate may be beaten.

Then we should have to learn to lie, not little white lies, such as we tell sometimes to each other for *policy* sake, but great, big, black lies, such as the men tell for *politics* sake.

These are only a few of the arguments in favor of Horace Greeley's assertion. I could not give you at this time all the views of my grandmother, but I will write again next week, and tell you some more of her "ideas" on the subject, unless you see, as I do, the error of your ways, and abandon *THE REVOLUTION*. We are going to hold an anti-woman meeting next week also, which I shall duly report to you. Please tell Mrs. Livermore and Lucy Stone that I am very sorry for my conduct in speaking in the Woman's Convention in Chicago last fall, but at that time I thought Horace Greeley was mistaken. I now most sincerely beg his pardon for thinking so. I think now he is like St. Paul, he knew better what women wanted than they did themselves.

Yours until next week, any way,

Mrs. "PAT MOLLOY."

SUFFRAGE

The fundamental law of the United States and of each individual State, is based upon the principle, that man has certain inalienable rights; the "right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness;" the last including the rights of property and conscience. These rights are common to every citizen, of whatever sex—not to the male sex solely.

The laws enacted by the people through the power delegated to their agents, the legislature, are intended to define, regulate and protect each citizen of both sexes in the enjoyment of their rights; and if the laws are not in harmony with the Constitution they are null and void. What is the theory of the ballot? It is the power which the citizen possesses of enacting the laws and expressing his preference as to the agent who shall execute them. Men value this right of suffrage, and justly so, as it is their safeguard under the Constitution against tyranny. If the right of suffrage is so valuable to man, why is it not equally valuable to woman? Has she not the same rights to be protected? Is she not subject to the same laws, and are not her rights as dear to her as the rights of man are to him? Is it not reasonable that she should desire the privilege of expressing her choice through the ballot-box as to the laws and those who are to execute them? Even if she does not express the wish to vote, ought she not to have the right to protect her rights? There can be but one reply to these questions. There are no reasons why man should vote which do not equally apply to woman. The law of custom, prejudice, is the only objection which can be raised against suffrage to woman. The power of prejudice must sooner or later yield to the force of reason, the voice of conscience and the law of justice. Men may not admit women into competition with themselves in the various occupations of society, may deny

their intellectual and physical ability, but they cannot deny that under the Constitution of our free government they are citizens, and as such ought to be allowed the right of suffrage.

Foreign Correspondence.

LETTER XXXVIII.

MANCHESTER, Nov., 1869.

CONSERVATIVE INFLUENCE OF WOMEN.

THE returns of the Municipal Elections, to which I referred in my last letter, show that, in many instances, a larger number than usual of Tories have been elected this year. The "Liberal" opponents of Woman's Suffrage are not slow to point the moral. "Beware, beware," say they, "your doctrine is false and fair." If the electress element in the municipal wards has thus strengthened the hands of the Tories, what may not be the result of its influence in the more directly political elections for members of Parliament?" Although admitting that the premises for this conclusion, as regards statistical facts, all over the country, are by no means complete, the *Pall Mall Gazette* earnestly "recommends Mr. Stuart Mill to pause before he insists on the extension of woman's franchise to Parliamentary elections, lest a thoroughly reactionary half century, or so, of public policy should be its consequence."

In the classes accessible to corruption it appears that women have taken bribes, as freely as men, in the late elections. They have thus verified the observation of the countryman who, when asked to sign a petition for Woman's Suffrage, said frankly, "Yes, indeed, he would sign, why should not a poor woman make something by her vote as well as a man?" We have but one remedy to offer for these evils. Light, more light,

Holy light! offspring of Heaven, first born, as Milton beautifully apostrophizes its material prototype.

There is no doubt that the restricted culture and the limited vision which result from it, have naturally inclined women to linger in the time-worn grooves of the past rather than to tread the rugged road of reform. But a new page in the history of human development has been opened by the movement for higher and wider culture for women, and this will prevent the threatened danger of reaction.

This movement, which was begun in England by the examinations for girls instituted by the University of Cambridge, and in France under the patronage of the Minister of Public Instruction, with the aid of the most distinguished professors of the University of Paris, is represented here in one of its phases by the

LADIES EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS.

These Associations are now at work in our principal towns. I shall briefly refer to the opening of the winter session in London and Edinburgh, which took place this week. A London editor thus announces the former: "Under the modest title of the Ladies' Educational Association, a Society which began its second session yesterday, is carrying on a most important work for the higher education of women. The example was set by some ladies in the north, who successfully established courses of lectures on literary and other subjects, to which ladies were invited to attend. Last year its example was followed in London, and two courses of lectures were given, one on English Litera-

ture, to 102 students, the other on Physics, to 58 students. The success of these courses has caused the experiment to be conducted this year on a larger scale, and courses of lectures (thirty-six in each course) will be given on each of the following subjects: Latin, Geometry, French Literature, English Literature, Physics and Chemistry." The first lectures on Latin and on English and French Literature were delivered yesterday, and the second session had a successful beginning. Professor Huxley's opening lecture of the course on Physics is thus briefly described:

THE SCIENTIFIC EDUCATION OF WOMEN.—At the South Kensington Museum, on Tuesday, Professor Huxley delivered the first lecture of the course on the elements of physical science which is intended for the instruction of women. The course will consist of three parts. The first part Professor Huxley calls physiography, under which rather alarming name many of the audience were no doubt surprised to hear an excessively simple and lucid description of a river basin. The Thames basin was the illustration employed, and the manner in which water is continually circulating between the land, the sea, and the atmosphere. Professor Huxley will proceed in the remainder of this first part to treat in the same broad, general manner the most obvious facts and phenomena of the universe, leading up to the second and third parts of the course. These will treat with somewhat more detail of the laws of nature. The second part, by Professor Guthrie, will take up the nature and relations of force in its various forms, the outlines, in fact, of physics and chemistry. In the third part (biology), Professor Oliver will illustrate the phenomena of life (whether physiological or morphological) by the means of elementary botany.

In Edinburgh the third session of lectures has been opened, also with fresh classes. Professor Kelland began a course on Mathematics. He prefaced his lecture with the remark that the stream which divides ladies from gentlemen, in regard to intellectual studies, was only an imaginary one. It has no real existence, and if the student fancies she has crossed it, that is all that is required. It is like Goethe's giant, which had no strength except in its shadow, and assured by the shadow of giants had been very successful in placing ladies out of the reach of many educational influences. The professor then discoursed eloquently on Mathematics and declared the study to be peculiarly fitted for women, and not only fitted, but absolutely needed by them. In illustration of this need he complained that: In the higher ranks especially, there was a great difference intellectually between men and women, and this difference he attributed entirely to the difference in the character of their education. The logical exercises involved in the study of the classics and mathematics were entirely lost to the girls, and he thought the corresponding gap in their minds was distinctly perceptible. In the classes to which the higher kind of education did not reach, there was no such difference. He had long experience in the examination of parish schools, and he was not conscious of having found any difference between the sexes.

As Professor Fraser's lecture to his class of Edinburgh ladies, for Logic and Metaphysics, is retrospective and gives the results of last session, I subjoin it:

LOGIC AND METAPHYSICS.—Professor Fraser delivered the opening lecture in the class of Logic and Metaphysics at three o'clock. He began this class last session, he said, with much misgiving and with a very obscure future before him. The class of Logic and Mental Philosophy was the most novel part of a bold experiment. The Ladies' Educational Association was engaged in testing the intelligence of women, not by means of short courses of popular lectures, but by presenting to them systematic teaching in certain unpopular, because difficult subjects. The programme included a thoughtful study of literature, courses in the sciences founded upon external observation and experiment, which, will

the aid of mathematics, had disclosed so many of the hidden secrets of creation. The Association further resolved that it should recognize speculative studies, which were concerned with mind, as well as those which were concerned with matter—thus keeping the balance, and avoiding that narrowness of mind and sympathy which resulted from an exclusive study of the two features which the universe presented—material and mental. There had always been a prejudice against such studies among the uneducated or half-educated portions of society. He thought that this prejudice would have to be encountered, probably in an aggravated form, when women were invited to engage in the systematic study of mind. Then he had only indistinct notions either of the prepared intelligence or of the power of sustained earnest study with which any students who might present themselves should be credited. In the early part of last session, accordingly, he worked in the dark; but he found in the end that he had underrated the intellectual power and the steady attention; and that one of the ablest and most zealous classes of students in logic and mental philosophy he had ever had the good fortune to conduct. Nearly seventy students were enrolled, and more than fifty of these shared in the examinations and other exercises of the class. No abatement of academical severity, even of dryness of discussion, was attempted by him; but it was made evident, so far as the result of one session could make it evident, that women not only were not inferior to men in the power of learning to think methodically, but that they also possessed that enthusiasm in studying the universe on the side of mind for which Scotchmen and the Teutonic nations generally had long been conspicuous. The ready availability of mental philosophy in general, and of logic in particular, for the purpose of forming a test, for the higher intellectual powers of reason and speculation in women, was another thought that suggested itself on a retrospect of last session. The learned Professor proceeded to speak of the nature and object of the study of mental philosophy, and concluded his address by stating that he proposed this year to begin with psychology, advancing into logic, and passing from logic into metaphysics. His ideal would be to devote a separate session to each of the three divisions of the science; but the programme of the Association was still in an embryo state.

THE DEACONESSES' HOSPITAL AT ALEXANDRIA.

This Hospital for sick sailors was opened in the year 1858, at the joint request of the English and Prussian governments, by the late Pastor Fliedner, at whose establishment at Kaiserwerth in Prussia Miss Nightingale studied medicine and nursing. The hospital at Alexandria has received within its walls patients from under almost every flag that is to be seen in the Mediterranean. Its internal management is conducted entirely free of cost by the Sisters of the Protestant Deaconesses' Institution at Kaiserwerth. But the building in which the patients are located is in a ruinous condition, and a more commodious structure has been commenced. One of the Deaconesses is in this country at present seeking subscriptions for this object. The new hospital will have a hundred beds, and will be open to the sick of all nations.

MR. PEABODY.

The death of your noble and magnificent countryman, and I may say ours also, has been felt and lamented by all classes in this land, from the Queen to the humblest inmate of his homes for the London poor. It is said that in the crowds at the funeral women largely predominated. After the Royal carriages and those of the Lord Mayor and Sheriff of London, followed the carriages of Lady Franklin, the Duchess of Somerset, Miss Burdett Coutts, Lady Tennent, the Marquis Townshend and other members of the nobility. The beautiful requiem at Westminster Abbey will be a sad and solemn response to the appeal on behalf of the southern women to him who so nobly won the blessing of the giver while he could open his hand. The papers relate that the Queen was most anxious to have another interview with Mr. Peabody when he came to this country, and

wrote asking him to let her know when he arrived. She was at Balmoral, in Scotland, when Mr. Peabody came to England, and hearing he was in delicate health, she postponed the interview till her return to the south when she expressed her wish to see him and to have a quiet talk with him. When the Queen arrived at Windsor Mr. Peabody was too ill to leave his room, and she proposed to visit him at the house of Sir Curtis Sampson where he was staying. Before this proposal could be carried into effect Mr. Peabody died. Here is one of the many tributes to his memory:

GEORGE PEABODY.

BORN AT DANVERS, MASSACHUSETTS, FEBRUARY 18, 1795.
DIED IN EATON SQUARE, LONDON, NOVEMBER 4, 1869.

Less grief than gladness Death is wont to deal,
When he unlocks the wealthy worldling's hold
Upon the coin, close-clutched while he could feel
The cold and hard delight of hoarded gold.

Where life has been world's loss, death seems world's gain—

The loosening of a hard heart's icy bar
That served a fertilizing stream to chain,
Which, but for it, might have spread wealth afar.
But by this rich man's death-bed is no sound
Save low-breathed love and grief of them that bow
The mourner's shrouded head, with cypress bound,
And place their wreaths upon the calm, cold brow.

No common mourners here such office fill—

A mother and a daughter, grand of frame,
Albeit one in blood, oft twain in will,
And jealous either of the other's fame.

But by this bier they pause from jar and boast,
Urged by no rivalry but that which strives
Him that lies here to love and honor most,
Ranking his life highest among the lives

Of men that in their tongue and blood claim part:
And well may child and mother mourn for one
Who loved mother and child with equal heart,
Nor left, for either, love's best works undone.

He waited not for death to loose the hap
Of his strong box, nor clutched its key until
Death's hand unlocked it from his failing grasp—
A life-long niggard, generous by will.

He sowed his seed of good with his own hand,
And lived to watch some of its blessings spring:
Hopeful yet humble saw the stony land
Bear harvest, heard the joyless desert sing.

He goes down to the grave; but to the grave
His works follow him not as most men's do:
His works remain behind—remain to save
The lives of thousands and to guide them too.

Where'er from birth to death he found a place
For toil or rest, some seed of good he sowed:
Old World or New saw none who in life's race
Strove harder, none who so its prize bestowed.

AFRICAN EXPLORERS.

The tidings of Dr. Livingstone's letters from Africa, bearing date July, 1868, will reach you by this mail. He gives a glowing account of the country which he has explored, of its healthiness, its beauty, its fertility, its rivers and lakes. He tells, too, of wondrous underground habitations that he has heard of. "Excavations thirty miles long, with running rills in them—a whole district can stand a siege in them; the writings wherein I have been told, by some of the people, are on wings of animals and not letters."

I hope you will find room for the following interesting account of another African explorer whose untimely end I mentioned in a former letter:

MADEMOISELLE TINNE.—A recent number of the "Gartenlaube" contains an interesting and romantic sketch by Wilhelm Gents, of Mdile. Tinne, the female explorer whose tragic death this year was a real loss to science. This remarkable woman was the daughter of an English merchant and of a Dutch lady of good family attached to the court of the present Queen of Holland.

Her father dying when she was only five years old, she was left heiress to a considerable property; and as, moreover, her personal attractions were great, she had no lack of suitors when she grew up, and those of the best birth and quality. But to all she turned a deaf ear. What could be the reason? Rumor, incredulous that the fair-haired beauty could be insensible to the universal passion, whispered that she nourished a hopeless love for some unattainable prince, and that it was this which subsequently drove her, despairing, into the wilderness. However that may be, two barons are said in the eagerness of their suit to have followed her to Khartum. Her earliest developed tastes were those of an Amazon. She delighted in taming horses, and sought nature in its most savage aspects. Her first journey of any length was to the North Pole. The Queen of Holland gave her introductions to many courts of Europe, but she was bent on visiting the East, and made her first expedition there when in her eighteenth year. She then traversed Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, and seems at once to have succumbed to the fascination which those regions have exercised over the minds of European women as well as men. But it was not the love of rule which she sought to gratify, like Lady Hester Stanhope; nor was it the grasping desire for health and the simple human sympathies which bound her to the East, like Lady Duff Gordon's; her passion was to solve the problem of Nile discovery. For this she resolved to turn African to the best of her power; adopted the Egyptian dress, surrounded herself with African servants, and engaged a eunuch for her protection. The native tribes of the interior imagined her to be a "lovely white shining daughter of the Sultan of Sultans, who, spending freely with both hands, and winning all hearts, came the whole way from Istanbul to visit the inhospitable further limits of her empire." And such is the legend which probably will be handed down among them for as many generations as are yet to pass until the sanguine dreams of future civilization may have their fulfilment. M. Gents became acquainted with this singular dame errant on her return from her great expedition into the territory of the Gazelle River, on which expedition she had the misfortune of losing her mother and her aunt, who in their devotion had followed her adventurous steps. Her physician, Dr. Steudner, had also died from the effects of the climate; and Mdile. Tinne, bereaved and dispirited, retraced her steps to Cairo. But she assured M. Gents that nothing should induce her to return to Europe, and she rejected the solicitations of her step-brother, who actually came from England to Cairo to escort her back. Her desire and intention were to build herself a residence either at Cairo or on the Nile island of Rhoda; and she was very busily occupied with architectural plans of a strange fantastic character when M. Gents met her for the last time in the Egyptian capital. Her plans of settling there did not meet with encouragement from the Egyptian government, and it was in consequence of her inability to procure the land necessary for her purposes that she departed in her own steam vessel to visit the African coasts of the Mediterranean. While on this voyage she put in at Civita Vecchia, whence she frequently visited Rome and astonished the natives by her retinue of black dependents. Her project now was to journey from Tripoli to Timbuctoo, for which she endeavored to obtain the assistance and companionship of the experienced African traveller, Gerard Ropil, then in Rome; but he had just been engaged to accompany the English expedition to Abyssinia. It was in the wild regions of the Sahara, between Moursouk and Ghat, that Mdile. Tinne met her fate. She had intended to remain at or near Ghat till the following autumn, previously to prosecuting her long journey as far as to the territories of the Sultan of Bouroum, living out in tents all the time in hope of recovering her strength. A casual quarrel between some camel-drivers of the savage tribe of the Tuare and her own Dutch servants one morning brought her to the scene of action, when a javelin was thrust through her from behind.

The actual addition to their knowledge which African geographers owe to Mdile. Tinne was made in her expedition to the Gazelle River. They succeeded in ascertaining the position of the watershed which marks off the basin of the western Upper Nile in this direction, and obtained vague cognizance of a central African inland sea, possibly larger than Lake Nyanza, situated at about the third degree of north latitude.

M. Genz's account of his visit to Mdile. Tinne at Cairo is picturesque and characteristic. When he asked his way to her abode he was directed by the donkey boys, who all knew her well as the "Dutch countess," who made her dwelling almost a hospital for their animals when wounded or sick. The house itself was ruined from without; through tortuous passages the visi-

or found himself in a court with three palm trees in it; donkeys sunning themselves on stone steps, negro slaves, boys and girls, lying on the ground, big women from the Soudan adorning themselves with bits of broken window glass, long-haired Nubian hounds, and an old white-bearded Berber who acted as porter. The lady, dressed in oriental mourning habits, and wearing an expression of deep sadness on her countenance, occupied a twilight saloon which had been an ancient harem, with marble floor and quaint eastern furniture. Her most interesting accessories, however, were the eighteen ethnographical specimens, children of different tribes of the interior, who had voluntarily followed her, in order to escape from the doom of slavery, in their native homes. "It was told me (says the narrator) by a missionary who had met Mdlle. Tinne in the interior of Africa, that she had often taken up a severely wounded slave on the animal on which she had been riding, and proceeded herself for hours long on foot, wading through deep marshes. Mdlle. Tinne was very compassionate. While I drew, (he continues, speaking of his interview with her at Cairo) she sat in Arabian fashion, looking on the ground, and was never tired of telling me of her experiences. The great marshy tracts of the Upper Nile regions had recalled the memories of her Dutch home. Again had the endless green flats on which her childish eyes rested risen before her mind's eye. But she often felt that she had more than enough of green, and turned with longing to the thought of the yellow, parched-up deserts of the Sahara."—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

I am, dear madam, very truly yours,

REBECCA MOORE.

LETTER FROM MRS. KATE V. DOGGETT.

BERLIN, 8th Nov., 1869.

DEAR REVOLUTION: Upon reaching the Prussian capital, our first duty was to present our credentials to the President of the Society that had called the Labor Convention, to which we were sent as delegates, Dr. von Holtzendorff, by whom we were received with great kindness. Having a week upon our hands, we devoted it, as well as the weather would permit, to sightseeing; particularly to visiting the various institutions for the bettering of the condition of the poor and ignorant.

The formal opening of the Labor Convention was called upon Friday, 5th November. There was, however, an interesting informal gathering Thursday evening, at which, after a discussion upon the propriety of changing the name and some of the by-laws of the Society, whose object is to open new fields of labor to women and to prepare them for self-support therein, by intellectual teaching and technical instruction; believing that no real progress is possible to the working classes but through moral and intellectual training. Dr. von Holtzendorff, professor of Jurisprudence at the Royal University, in glowing words welcomed the guests who had assembled there from all parts of Germany, from Switzerland and "from the far-off trans-Atlantic Republic." Their presence showed how wide-spread is the interest, in all civilized lands, in the objects proposed by the "Conference." Especially was there subject for thought in the fact that a delegation had come from America, from a land that, in all connected with Woman's Emancipation, had long passed the narrow bounds within which they still, in Germany, believed they must confine themselves. It was a new proof of the interest felt in America in the social, economical and spiritual development of Germany.

While I listened to the rounded sentences of the eloquent speaker, which fell upon my ear in words that to it are music, and which, alas! my memory cannot give you again; it struck me that, perhaps, "in the ordering of Providence," we, in America, might give back in practical results the workings of German thought; for they are the *thinkers* of the world,

albeit, we are not always honest enough to confess it.

Dr. Lammers of Bremen, to whom, with Professor Emminghaus of Carlsruhe, is due the honor of first suggesting the Conference, replied in behalf of the guests from abroad. He thought Berlin the fittest place for such a gathering, for, though it might not be the capital of Germany in the sense in which Paris was of France, still it was the central point of all German interests and culture, possessed a powerful press; which, I am sorry to say, gave such meagre reports of the doings of the Convention that I am forced to rely upon memory for the account I give you. By and bye, there will be published a Stenographic Report, when, if possible, I shall supplement failing recollection. Here, too, were the opponents of this movement, and here must the battle between Conservatism and Progress be fought.

Then we were introduced—to Mrs. Goldschmidt, mother-in-law of Jenny Lind and mother of Kindergartens in Hamburg, to Mrs. Morgenstern a well-known authoress, to the handsome Countess von Brockenburg, representative of the Victoria Society; to Miss Schmidt of Leipzig, one of the editors of the *Neue Bahnen*; to Miss Hirsch of Berlin who interests herself to bring together those who work and those who want work; to Mrs. Schepeler, daughter of the man who founded the Berlin Society, and for whom they propose to name it—the Lette Verein—"not alone as a proof of gratitude, but in belief that the adoption of that name will remove an existing prejudice,"—namely, that the efforts of the Society threatened the family life; then to pleasant people from various parts of our own land, among others, to a gentleman whom I had pointed out to my companion as indubitably a German. He proved to be the son of one of our members of Congress, brother of Mrs. Gen. Pope, is one of the sixty from the United States hearing lectures in Berlin. I am so often mistaken if I attempt to decide the nationality of people from appearance, I quite envy those wise ones who can even decide the city one comes from, from the style of the garments.

The Convention met at half-past nine Friday morning, 5th November, and was called to order by Professor von Holtzendorff, who stated that the Crown-Princess had written to express her sympathy, and regret that she was unable to be present in person. Upon motion of Mr. Lehmann, the following persons were, by acclamation, chosen officers of the Convention. Dr. von Holtzendorff, President, associated with him Miss Buchner of Darmstadt: as "honorable associates" (what we should call vice-presidents) Mrs. Schepeler of Berlin, Mrs. Doggett of Chicago and Dr. Lammers of Bremen. Secretaries, Miss Hirsch and the Countess von Brockenburg of Berlin.

I was so taken aback by hearing my name, I could find no words in which to state objections and, as the wisest thing under the circumstances, took the proffered arm of Herr Director and walked to the platform, feeling, as I glanced over the audience, that the light that flashed from curious eyes upon the sister from over the sea was friendly.

Dr. von Holtzendorff is an admirable presiding officer; his courtesy is perfect, every movement bears the stamp of the gentleman, but he does not deserve so much credit for success as he would in some places, for really there was no order to preserve. In my life I have never

seen so decorous an assembly. In many respects we could imitate them with great advantage. They do not applaud during speaking; if anything especially pleases they cry "bravo," when a speaker has finished they clap their hands, but do not stamp or pound with canes. They have a printed programme of proceedings, so that each person knows precisely what subjects are to be discussed (as at the meetings of our scientific associations), all who wish to speak upon the subject, for or against, hand their names to the secretary, and they are called in the same order in which they are given. Thus there is no struggle for the floor, and when the allotted time has expired a bell is touched and "the Word," as they call it, yielded to another. This was done repeatedly without demur, in cases, too, where papers had been prepared that the writers evidently thought of importance. The voting is by rising, or lifting the hand. The sessions were six and seven hours long with an intermission of only fifteen minutes.

The programme for Friday was:

1st. A plan for the regular interchange of views among the different societies of Germany, and between them and societies in other lands.

2d. The forming of department schools for women.

3d. Arbeitsnachweisungs Anstalten—a long word not easy to translate—is a sort of Intelligence office, not for servants, but for those who want the finer kinds of work and those who can do it; it corresponds to one of the objects proposed to itself by the New England Woman's Club, the same work that has been done by Mary Campbell of Charleston and noble women like her in the South for ladies impoverished by the war.

During the discussion, the sun broke through the clouds that for a week had hung thick about us, and as his beams fell upon the face of Madame Stahr (Fanny Lewald) with its beautiful setting of silver curls, I half fancied I was looking down into the lovely face of Mrs. Stanton or Mrs. Davis, to both of which it bears a strong resemblance. Time, that has scattered the snow-flakes on her hair, has not dimmed the brilliancy of her eyes nor lessened her vigor of mind. She is one of the committee to devise plans for the new paper, which, it is hoped, may take the place of those now existing, as the organ of this movement for the elevation of woman, for all Germany. With her are associated Dr. Lammers of Bremen and Augusta Schmidt of Leipzig. The latter made a speech full of fire and power, her evident strength of mind and body reminding me of Mrs. Livermore.

Speeches were made by delegates from the different cities of Germany, reciting the progress made in furnishing employment to women and in preparing them for such employment. I was told that it was quite a new thing to most of the ladies to speak in public, yet all were as composed as if they had been in their own drawing-rooms. They spoke with the ease that marks familiarity with the subject, all with pleasant voices, many with elegance of language.

The delegate from Vienna said they had wished to teach women printing, but men objected. I whispered to the President that the work upon the *Agitator*, a copy of which, that morning received, I had in my hand, was all done by women. He asked me to state that to the audience. It had not occurred to me I should have occasion to say anything, I was not prepared with even "a few remarks," but one

having trusted my voice, tongue I should say, for my voice I had lost in the damps of Berlin, though my heart was beating in a very cowardly way, I made a little statement of what we were trying to do in America. Here you constantly hear Woman's Work, Woman's Sphere, Woman's Culture, Woman's Schools, even Woman's Savings-Banks; and they are spending time, strength and money to found all these separate institutions instead of trying to open the doors of those already established. It seems to me there is still too much fear of men's objections. They do not accept the idea that the real question is not what men wish women to do and be, but what women themselves wish to do and be.

In the evening we had another social reunion and supper. Among our pleasant table-companions, were Miss Bolte, the accomplished Dresden correspondent of the *New York Evening Post*; a bright young German girl, who begged me to talk English with her, "she so loved the language and so longed to go to the free land" (I hadn't the heart to tell her my country was less free than she thought); a young American, who, if not a convert to the doctrine of Woman's Rights, does not lack means of grace in Berlin, and Dr. Hirschfeldt, who, refused admission to the schools here and forbidden to practice without a diploma, crossed the sea and last winter was graduated at the Dental College of Philadelphia. She has already won a good position in her profession, and besides being a skilled dentist, is a bright and attractive woman. She keeps on her table the volume of *Eminent Women*, and is enthusiastic in her expressions of regard for our country and its people.

The discussions of Saturday were upon the creation of Bazaars for women's work, of Savings Institutions and the preparation of women for nurses of the sick. Upon the last question some able speeches were made. I was sorry to hear one gentleman say he should prefer to have his daughter remain ignorant than to have her taught in the same school with young men, and he thought most fathers in Germany would agree with him. I hope his statement is an exaggerated one, for it seems to me an unwarrantable exercise of even parental authority, indeed the greatest tyranny, to keep human beings in ignorance, because they cannot learn in precisely the ways one would choose; and as to the question of studying medicine with men, those women who are not fit to do it, are wholly unfit to be treated by men in sickness. A loftier chord was struck by Schultze Ditzsch, a member of Parliament, and a man greatly honored and beloved for his many-benevolent works. His motto is that of the disciples of solidarity in France: "One for all, all for one."

At lunch a gentleman, whose fine head, bright dark eyes, and long, snowy beard, had attracted my attention in the audience, came and asked me for my card, telling me I was quite right in my remarks, which greatly rejoiced me. He gave me his name, and so much had I heard and read of him, that it seemed to me I grasped the hand of an old friend in that of Dr. Arthur Lutze of Cothen.

The sessions of this first general gathering for the consideration of the Woman question were closed by a few words of farewell from Dr. von Holtzendorff, and a brief speech from Miss Schmidt in which she, in the name of all, thanked the President and other gentlemen who had come to their aid, at the same time telling her sisters they must learn to rely upon themselves, learn to be independent. In one sense she is quite

right, women should learn self-reliance, but they will make a great mistake if they attempt to carry on these reforms alone. Men have not succeeded so perfectly in doing the world's work alone, that women should seek to imitate them. They are noble men who lead this movement here; men who correspond to the Havens, Collyers, Beechers, Garrisons and Curtises of our own land, without whom, assuredly, the Woman question would not occupy the position it does to-day in America.

The President of the Berlin Society is an eminent jurist, a lecturer whom lawyers and Doctors of Divinity cross the ocean to listen to, a man who has much to lose and who can scarcely gain more respect, love and honor than he now enjoys, yet he devotes all the time not claimed by duties at the University to the lifting up of those weighed down by poverty and ignorance.

Saturday evening we had a grand social reunion and supper. At table a young lady told me she was named for Lucy Stone. Our eloquent country-woman may be proud of her bright, pretty name-child.

After the soup, Dr. von Holtzendorff asked the guests to drink to the health of the Crown-Princess of Prussia, the Princess of Hesse and the Duchess of Baden, recounting their many deeds of love for their people, and honoring the delegates from America by associating them in his toast with those noble ladies. Then for the first time I saw in perfection the beautiful custom of which I had so often heard. All rose to their feet, lifted their glasses *hoch*, that untranslatable word that means so much, and the clinking of glasses as they touched each other sounded through the hall.

Unable to refuse any request after such repeated courtesies, I proposed the health of one whose teachings and example had made her noble daughters the women they are, one whose manifold virtues honor her more than the crown she wears—Victoria of England. In an instant all were on their feet, and the *anslossen* recommenced. They went from table to table, touching glasses, with a friendly word, every eye beaming with pleasure.

Then, Dr. Ebert, one of the forty-seven "Progressives" in the Prussian Parliament, who had made himself specially responsible for my well-being, paid a glowing tribute to the women of America, lauding their influence upon its civilization from the days of the "Mayflower," till now, pronouncing his toast in German and English. Many other toasts followed, not as with us after the material feast, but between the courses. We had a song, too, written for the occasion by Madame Morgenstern, and sung to a tune I have often heard from Harvard and Yale boys. There was not the least boisterousness in all this, only perfect heartiness and good-will. Above all things in the way of merry-makings, commend me to a German *Fest*.

But an end comes to all pleasures, so to this. With real regret we bid good-bye to those whom it is hard to persuade ourselves we saw for the first time within a fortnight, and journey on in search of the *foreign* land we have not found in Germany.

P. S. The cry of distress from poverty-stricken Madison has reached me across the water, and as I read the letter of your correspondent, it struck me that such dearth in "barn and store" was perhaps a part of the punishment due for the wrong-doings of the past.

You know perhaps, that girls once had the

same advantages as boys in the State University of Wisconsin, an institution supported by taxation of *all* the people of the state, as its original endowment came from the sale of the "schools lands," to the avails of which *all* the people were entitled. You may know, too, that the girls were deprived of those rights and a female seminary rigged up to supply the needs of their limited capacities.

In the old days, I am certain three dollars could have been raised for any paper they wished to take, but in memory of the pleasant hours spent upon the beautiful lakes of Madison, and in her hospitable home, let me subscribe for *THE REVOLUTION*, whose reading will do them good, and continue to send it to the Public Library, thereby obliging

Paris, Nov. 19, 1869.

K. N. G.

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 3d, 1869.

DEAR REVOLUTION: Your correspondent, "Index," gives undue praise, in the letter from him, to the *Chronicle* and its responsible editor, John W. Forney. Within the past two weeks the *Chronicle* has given a tolerably fair report of the Saturday-night meetings of the Universal Suffrage Association, but every report made previous thereto was a puerile mass of stuff which had just sufficient truth in it to make the lies it told more damaging. It was the custom of the stupid young German who made the report to allow the ringleader of the disturbers, one Mr. Bryan, to assist him in the preparation thereof. Of course they sought to make the riotous side of the meetings appear all right. I am informed that Bryan is somewhat ashamed of the figure he cuts, since the *Republican*, finding it pays to make their reports quite full, has taken to reporting the abusive and stupid vulgarities he and his confreeres are in the habit of uttering, when allowed by mistaken courtesy to occupy the floor at these meetings.

The *Chronicle* has no better right to a compliment than the *Republican*, or any other paper in this city. They are all either openly or tacitly abettors of the rowdy and rather ruffianly attempts that have been made for six weeks past to break up the Equal Franchise Meetings. Not one word has the "acute statesman" or any of his "suls" on the *Chronicle*, any more than any other of the city editors, uttered against the outrageous proceedings which have been going on. Col. Forney can hardly condone the disgracefully false reports he has permitted to be published, nor the unbroken editorial silence that has been maintained, by one simple act of grace in publishing a brief report of our meeting prepared by some friend. The conduct of the Washington press, all of it, is simply disgraceful.

The young men who disturb these meetings, avowedly for the purpose of breaking them up, are most of them clerks in the Government Department here. Their ringleader, Mr. Bryan, is in the Sixth Auditor's office. It may interest him especially to know (he reads *THE REVOLUTION*, I learn) that his boisterous and rowdy conduct has been most unfavorably commented on in the Department; and one high in authority has declared it unbecoming a person employed in the public service. The newspapers of Washington, the *Chronicle* included, are contemptibly mean, cowardly and corrupt.

THE House of Representatives of Alabama have elected a colored man to be their clerk.

The Revolution.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, \$3 A YEAR.
NEW YORK CITY SUBSCRIPTIONS, \$3.20.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, Editor.
SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Proprietor.

OFFICE, 49 EAST TWENTY-THIRD ST., N. Y.

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 9, 1869.

The Revolution, FOR 1870.

THE REVOLUTION is a weekly journal demanding Suffrage for women.

The demands for woman everywhere to-day, are for a wider range of employments, higher wages, thorough physical and mental education, and her civil rights of person, property, wages and children. While we yield to none in the earnestness of our advocacy of any of these special privileges, we make the broader demand of woman's enfranchisement as the only way by which all can be permanently secured. No class of citizens, either men or women, can ever feel a proper self-respect, or command the respect of others, until their political equality—their citizenship be fully recognized.

In discussing, as we shall incidentally, the many sides of all questions of national life—of science, philosophy, society, religion and politics, of finance, trade, capital, labor and land monopoly, of sanitary, educational and prison reform, we propose to educate woman for an intelligent expression of opinion at the polls, where, in the march of civilization, she is so soon to share in the grave responsibilities of government.

While we would not refuse men an occasional word in our columns, yet as masculine ideas have ruled the race for six thousand years, we specially desire that THE REVOLUTION shall be the mouth-pieces of women, that they may give the world the feminine thought in politics, religion and social life; that ultimately in the union of both we may find the truth in all things.

On the idea taught by the creeds, codes and customs of our times, that woman was made for man—his toy, drudge, victim, subject, or even mere companion—we declare war to the death, and proclaim the higher truth that, like man, she was created by God for INDIVIDUAL, MORAL RESPONSIBILITY and progress here and forever, and that the physical conditions of her earthly life are not to be taken as the principal evidence of the Divine Intention respecting her as an immortal being.

Our principal contributors this year are:

ANNA E. DICKINSON,
PAULINA WRIGHT DAVIS,
ISA ELLA BEECHER HOOKER,
HARRIET BEECHER STOWE,
ALICE AND PHEBE CARY,
OLIVE LOGAN,
MARY CLEMMER AMES,
ELIZABETH R. TILTON,
CELIA BURLEIGH,
M. E. JOSLYN GAGE,
CHARLOTTE B. WILBOUR,
LAURA C. BULLARD,
ELIZABETH SMITH MILLER,
MADAME ANNEKA,
MADAME D'HERICOURT,
KATE N. DOGGETT,

ISABELLA GRANT MEREDITH,
ELEANOR KIRK,
PHEBE COUZENS,
LILIE PECKHAM,
LIZZIE M. BOYNTON,
HELEN EKIN STARRETT,
MARY W. SAWELL,
ELIZABETH T. SCHENCK,
MARY E. AMES.

FOREIGN.

REBECCA MOORE,
LYDIA E. BECKER,
MADAME MARIE GOEG.

In announcing this brilliant array of contributors for the coming year, we wish to say to our readers that as THE REVOLUTION is an independent journal, bound to no party or sect, those who write for our columns are responsible only for what appears under their own names. Hence if old Abolitionists and Slaveholders, Republicans and Democrats, Presbyterians and Universalists, Saints and Sinners find themselves side by side in writing up the question of Woman Suffrage, they must pardon each other's differences on all other points, trusting that by giving their own views strongly and grandly, they will overshadow the errors by their side.

About to enter on our third year, it gives us pleasure to say that THE REVOLUTION started with a good list of subscribers, which was more than doubled the second year. Equal patronage in the future will soon place us on a permanent basis, and make a woman's paper in this country a financial success.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, Editor.
SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Proprietor.

TERMS:

One year—52 copies	\$3 00
Six months—26 "	2 00

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Ten copies	25 00
Twenty-five copies	60 00

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1 insertion	20 cents a line.
4 "	18 " "
13 "	16 " "
52 "	14 " "

CASH COMMISSIONS TO AGENTS.

Those sending us from 25 to 50 subscribers may retain 75 cents per copy; from 50 to 100, \$1 a copy.

All communications should be directed to SUSAN B. ANTHONY, 49 East 23d Street, New York.

OUR EXCHANGE LIST.—Our new Exchange list will contain only such papers as shall publish our prospectus for 1870. Editors will please forward a marked copy.

PREMIUMS.—Persons sending us six new subscribers and \$18, will receive a copy of the new English book, "Woman's Work and Woman's Culture," or Mrs. Dall's "College, Court and Market."

RENEW NOW.—Those renewing their subscriptions to THE REVOLUTION NOW, for 1870, and sending \$3 will receive a copy of John Stuart Mill's new book, "The Subjection of Women."

A PARTICULAR NOTICE.—Persons having business with the New York State Suffrage Association, should address the Secretary, Mrs. M. E. Joslyn Gage, Fayetteville, Onondaga Co., N. Y. Especially, let there be no delay in answering her letters. It is important that she be kept informed of the doings, the progress, and also of the needs of the various auxiliaries, both organized and individual throughout the state.

SOUTHERN EMIGRATION—HOW CONDUCTED.

"He that hath ears to hear, let him hear, was wisely said, because some seem to wear ears not for use, but only for ornament. So, with like discrimination, might be added, he that hath eyes to see, let him see. And no question of the hour admits of more profound study by the statesman, or should more deeply affect the heart of the philanthropist than that of southern emigration. And woman, as will be seen, has a thousand-fold more at stake in the business, than man. The subject directly involves the whole problem of labor and capital, of Cooly and Chinese as well as British and European Emigration, and the general weal or woe of the country, not only from north to south, but from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans. It has already arrested the attention of many of the wisest and best men and women of the civilized world. And no problem at present in agitation, promises to be of more absorbing interest.

But a single branch of the subject is all that can be now considered. There is, in Washington, a Bureau that has named itself "The Union Land Company;" "formed for the purchase and sale of southern lands, and for the encouragement of emigration to the south." It has a branch office in this city, and probably others in different parts of the country. In a lengthy Circular addressed to the people of the south, the Company say they have for months past been directing their energies towards turning the tide of European emigration southward. To those acquainted with the condition of your section, it is apparent that the restoration of your fortunes and prosperity depends greatly on an immediate and plentiful supply of thrifty, honest and intelligent labor. "And lower down, they add, "We have reasons to believe that within the next year, many thousands of valuable white servants can be added to your population." Readers will observe the plantation style of the address as they proceed:

What we now require is your practical assistance in remitting to us orders for servants, with a precise description of the kind of servants desired, and the amount of compensation to be given in each case. The low wages hitherto offered in the south is the chief difficulty to be met. A white domestic at \$10 or \$12 per month, is of more profit to her employer than a negress at \$6; the same is true of field-hands, mechanics, etc.; the increase of pay is more than equalized by the greater amount of work done and the superior manner of its performance.

Those who are familiar with the language and usages of the old slave system must fancy we are rapidly turning back to it and to all the most revolting features of the domestic slave trade, to boot. As indeed we are. For the circular continues:

Orders for a less number than twenty will be filled at the risk of the parties ordering, but when twenty or more are ordered at one time, we will send them in charge of some one attached to our office, who will see that they are safely delivered to the parties ordering, or their agent. The fares of servants must in all cases be prepaid by employers or their agent, and can afterwards be deducted from their wages. Railroad agents with whom we have conferred, are willing to forward servants from our office at greatly reduced rates, so that the cost of transportation in most parts of the South will be very light. When parties have made up among themselves an order for twenty or more servants, they will deposit in bank, or with the local Railroad agent, a sum sufficient to cover their fares, and obtaining a certificate therefor, forward it to us along with the order for servants. On this certificate, tickets will be issued to us by the Railroad agent in this city.

Curious enquirers will be asking where the consent or the voice of the most interested

party, the "servants" themselves, is to come in. Certainly, nowhere yet; for the circular proceeds:

Employers should enter into a written contract to keep their servants for six months; and we will require a similar agreement from them. We shall be very painstaking in the selection of servants, so as to give satisfaction, if possible, in every case. Our charge is three dollars for each servant ordered and delivered. James Brennan, Esq., our Special Agent, is now in the south, and will visit its principal cities and towns to take orders for servants. As however, he will not be able to reach many of those places for several months, it would be advisable generally for citizens to call meetings and remit to us their orders forthwith. Blank forms for ordering servants will be forwarded on request.

The Company "refer, by permission," to Gens. Wade Hampton of South Carolina, J. B. Gordon of Georgia, P. T. Moore of Virginia, and J. H. Clinton of Alabama, four of the ablest, and so the worst officers of the rebellion.

A more remarkable, or more instructive document than this Circular, has not appeared, certainly since the close of the war. And it is not only a circular letter, but a newspaper advertisement also, a whole column long. And to those who have eyes to see, it is a perfect mirror of what the present tone of the south is to-day as respects the laboring classes, wherever there are large plantations. The spirit of the white land-owner and capitalist is revealed; and just what might be expected to be the condition of the laboring classes under such a system, just that, to most frightful extent, is their condition. As Wendell Phillips well said would be the case, "The freedmen are the slaves of the land-owner and capitalist." Why don't Mr. Phillips seize this Circular and flash it like the "red, fiery cross," all round the land? On the South Carolina Sea Islands, old planters are paying taxes, year after year, on thirty and forty thousand dollars worth of nearly unproductive land, in the confident expectation of in some way procuring what will be to them, and to the laborers also, substantially the old slave system.

The first proposition of this kindly disposed Company, as will be observed, is, to restore the fallen fortunes of the former slaveholders, and it believes in one year it can forward them "thousands of valuable white servants, if they will only be pleased to "practically assist" in "remitting orders." Probably they can, for the condition of the laborer is becoming desperate both in Great Britain and America. Northern white laboring men and women used to be called "mudsills" when working their own farms, fields, gardens and households. What will white laboring men and women be called or considered, when landing in southern ports under this new but most odious form of the old domestic slave trade? The Irishman, or American, who will consent to be thus "contracted" for, and speculated in, man or woman, deserves to fill, will be compelled to fill, the place of a negro slave! will be doing just that in the estimation of every planter and employer in all the south.

As witness, farther, the prices proposed to be paid. A "negress" (mark the elegant word!) now gets, it is intimated, six dollars a month. It is not true in half the instances, nor a tenth part of the instances where they are now employed. But suppose it six dollars. What is now proposed to the white woman? ("negress" she is, as soon as she puts on her apron.) She is to take the place of the negress, to take the whole place, socially and every way, do double the work, for that is implied, and all for "ten or twelve dollars a month!" Twelve dollars is the highest price proposed. And that is

not to be determined by the woman herself, but by the employer and the Emigrant Company. If it costs the white servant twenty dollars to be transplanted south, and she can't go decently from New York to Charleston for less, then she will have to work at least two or three months to pay back her passage money. The board for that time will have to be added to the debt, and so, in most cases, the first six months would result to the poor woman, or girl, in nothing at all. As is precisely the case now with thousands and thousands of the poor freed women who follow the fortunes of their former masters.

It is simply a shameless falsehood, no matter who tells it, that the freed men even, to say nothing of the women, are to any encouraging extent becoming land owners, or amassing property. The white southerners are not only opposed to it, but they are determined they shall not live on the soil. They are resorting to every possible measure to rid themselves of them, like loathsome reptiles, or beasts of prey. What else does this Circular reveal? For what else is this new Emigration scheme, proposing to deal only in white laborers, "mudsills" of the old southern slaveholders spleen and spite? and to become more mudsill and hateful to him in this new relation, than ever before! For what else is the Cooly, Chinese and Japanese importation, with all the attendant horrors of blood and murder of the old African Slave Trade, developed at the very outset? There is a fixed, unalterable, diabolical determination at the south to keep labor debased and degraded, no matter who are the laborers. Henry Clay once said, in the Senate of the United States, "If the northerner will not let us have black servants, then we must have white ones, for surely no gentleman will ever drive anybody's coach or black his shoes." Those words tell the whole story. One intelligent glance at southern society to-day confirms it, no matter whether the society be native southern, or an importation from other states.

The truth is, no white person, especially woman, ever expects or intends to perform household or any productive or economical labor of head or hand. It was never more reproachful than at this hour. There are exceptions, but scarcely enough to prove the rule. Women are hired there at household service, of the hardest, severest kind, for one dollar a week. They cook sumptuous dinners, make luxurious beds, sweep and dust gorgeous chambers for the families, and eat coarse hominy and cheap bacon themselves, and sleep on miserable bunks in the old slave quarters, often without a window and with but a single room and door. And almost everybody, as well as Gen. Hampton, calls it good treatment. Some of these women are mothers and have one, two, or three children to provide for besides themselves. Some are wives also, which more frequently complicates and aggravates the case than otherwise. Men who have wives are not always faithful, if indeed kind. In slavery they were encouraged to whip their wives unmercifully by both their owners and overseers, to keep up and to augment the general degradation. The practice still continues. I saw an old fellow who whips his wife, his son and son's wife whenever they offend him; and that, I was told, was pretty often, whenever he could get plenty of whiskey to sweeten his spirit. On St. Helena Island some women were comforting themselves, however, with the idea that when the new whiskey store was opened, which was building while I was there, their husbands

would get so drunk that they could then whip them back again, which I was assured they sometimes do under such circumstances, with terrible effect.

The most miserable being that wears the human form, is the colored woman of the south. Less, is she, than the least of the brethren of him who died on Calvary. If she be but slightly colored, and beautiful withal, she is as much sought for as when in slavery, and for the same unhallowed purposes. Not by southern men alone, neither. Tales might be told, even now, to harrow up the soul; to freeze the blood; to make the hair to stand on end, like quills upon the fretful porcupine! But their charms soon fade, and then the fate of these beauties need not be here revealed. And as to the average colored woman, who on the earth cares for her? On every side of her is power, but she has no comforter. Many whom I saw on the plantations were doing day's works that no northern white man would do, if he could, or could do, if he would, at any price. And at the end of the week all they received was gone. It could not be otherwise. Every night they and their children absolutely needed more to eat and to wear, than the wages would buy. Now winter is upon them, and work is scarce or suspended, and they are living by begging or stealing, or both, or, dying by hunger and cold. The letters of the school teachers, written a month ago, were publishing these things throughout the north. They, themselves, noble, glorious creatures, are shivering, suffering and dying with the rest. Or if not dying, at once, are planting the seeds that will harvest them to premature graves. And, they too, are as despised by the white rebel element there, as are their blackest pupils.

And now it is proposed by Emigration Societies to replace the "negress" at the South with a white substitute "contracted" for and "forwarded" with all the sealing-wax and red tape formality and circumstance of the old slave trade. And Washington is to be a headquarters of the horrible business. Perhaps the old slave pens of Franklin and Armfield are still extant and available for its use. Congress tolerated them for half a century, under its very nose, why not again? Men and women are to come from somewhere to supply the market. White men and women this time, be it ever remembered. The "negress" has had her day. Wench, too, she used to be called, in advertisements, mortgage deeds, bills of lading and bills of sale. But the Negress and the Wench are bleached white now, and come from Ireland, from Scotland, from Old England and New England, and the Lord knows where! So let them pack their pocket-handkerchiefs ("carpet-baggers" are above them) with what they have to carry, and away. The "contractor" waits for you with your employer's, your master's money in his pocket. You don't know how little, nor how much. You are not to know. Your employer, too, the old slaveholder and rebel, he waits. Who he is, or what, is also unknown to you. You need not know him. He treats with the "contractor" and the "Emigrant Company," who are pledged "to retrieve his fortunes," not to promote yours. The northern republican and democrat, the real carpet-baggers, cold, calculating, sordid, they are also there, and wait. The old slave quarters, cheerless, windowless, floorless, furnitureless, wait your coming and occupancy. The hog will share with you the hominy awhile, but ere long, if your master be liberal, will add himself, in disgusting boon, to your bill of fare. Shrink no

from this prospect, for the worst is not, cannot be told. Deem yourselves, if you can, or dare, moral, spiritual, immortal beings, and contemplate your condition under those aspects. From those sublime heights look down and see yourselves! The "negress," the "wench" drank the terrible sacrament for generations. Now it is proposed to put the same chalice to your lips. White women are to be made to drink the Cirean draught that transformed black women to brutes, to monsters! And for the same infernal purposes, you are to accept the situation. Labor, especially "negress" labor, must still be crushed beneath the remorseless heel of capital. But the white woman must now be the victim. The negress cost only six dollars a month. You who are white are promised—O, astonishing generosity!—you are promised double that sum. But observe your contractor guarantees that you shall render double value in your labor. That is, you are paid exactly as was the negress herself. In one word, materially, morally, socially, and *peculiarly*, of course, you shall fill her place, until you have "retrieved," by your labor, the *fallen fortunes* of your employer and master. For this is what the Southern Land and Emigrant Society have proposed, and pledge themselves to accomplish.

P. P.

MR. MILL ON CHINESE EMIGRATION.

A GENTLEMAN in San Francisco has addressed a letter to John Stuart Mill on the subject of Chinese Emigration to this country. He tells Mr. Mill that "it is frequently asserted here that the opposition on the part of the laboring classes to the immigration of Chinese arises from ignorance of the laws of political economy, and that so far from having a tendency to reduce them to a lower condition, the effect of Chinese labor will be to elevate them.

Mr. Mill replies at some length, but a part of his letter is all that space permits to-day. On the question of how a vast influx of laborers from abroad will affect the condition of laborers and the price of labor here, Mr. Mill says:

Nothing can be more fallacious than the attempts to make out that that to lower wages is the way to raise them, or that there is any compensation, in an economical point of view, to those whose labor is displaced, or who are obliged to work for greatly reduced remuneration. On general principles this state of things, were it sure to continue, would justify the exclusion of the immigrants, on the ground that, with their habits in respect to population, only a temporary good is done to the Chinese people by admitting part of their surplus numbers, while a permanent harm is done in a more civilized and improved portion of mankind.

The argument of protective tariff advocates to working men hereabouts is just this, and all past history proves Mr. Mill's conclusions.

Mr. Mill touches another topic in his letter, of vast practical importance to this country, and to all foreigners concerned. He says:

One kind of restrictive measure seems to me not only desirable, but absolutely called for: the most stringent laws against introducing Chinese immigrants as coolies, i. e., under contracts binding them to the service of particular persons. All such obligations are a form of compulsory labor, that is, of slavery; and though I know that the legal invalidity of such contracts does not prevent them from being made, I cannot but think that if pains were taken to make it known to the immigrants that such engagements are not legally binding, and especially if it were made a penal offence to enter into them, that mode, at least, of immigration would receive a considerable check, and it does not seem probable that any other mode, among so poor a population as the Chinese, can attain such dimensions as to compete very injuriously with American labor.

Mr. Mill is not aware to what extent "the contract system" is already adopted at the South, not with Chinese and Cooly laborers but white Americans, Englishmen, Irishmen, Germans and anybody and everybody on whom the rapacious hand of southern landholders and capitalists can be laid. Mr. Mill does well to call it *slavery*. In another column I shall let a little daylight into this nefarious business. Chattel slavery in America could only be drowned out in blood. Now comes the tug of war between labor and capital.

P. P.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

THE Legislature of South Carolina is now in session. The Senate has nineteen white and ten colored men. The House has fifty-one white and seventy colored. Politically, they stand, fourteen Democrats and one hundred and seven Republicans. The Governor and Council too are Republican (radical,) and so the legislation is scarcely obstructed, certainly not opposed by democratic or rebel influence. And yet, according to a report just sent to the Freedmen's Bureau at Washington by a large Labor Convention held at Columbia, the State Capital, there is need of more than male suffrage, and large Republican majorities to save the State from absolute famine. From one district (Laurens) came by a delegate this, and a great deal more like it:

He declared that the people in his county were merely existing, and unless something is done they will die. He had tried to give his family a living by working on a third. He had worked as long as he could see in the evening and begun again at sunrise, but at Christmas he had nothing. He tried \$50 a year and tried 50 cents a day, always with the same result. If the Legislature does not help us we shall be driven down into the ground. The magistrates do not give justice. When a colored man goes to the magistrate, no matter how straight his story, he is sure to come out behind. The magistrates will not serve warrants. They send him from one to another, and back again, and keep him going, but he gets no justice. Pretty soon they say "Don't plague me no more." Then if you keep on and say, "Give me justice," you get knocked or murdered. No use to go to the Courts to get justice, for they will summon the white man's witnesses, and will not summon the witnesses of colored men. If you go to the Sheriff, he says, "Go away; I got no use for you Republican nigger." The white men will cheat the colored laborer out of his whole Summer's wages, and then, if the colored man picks up two ears of corn to feed his children, he is taken up and put in jail for six months.

It is of no use to charge all this oppression on the Southerner, nor on the democrats. One class, as a class, is as good as another. And as bad. But every democrat and rebel combined, could do nothing if the professed Republicans, white and colored, acted together. But they do not. The white only uses the black; in politics as much as in planting cotton and rice. The colored man is as much a beast of burden there to-day as he ever was, and Republican and Democrat ride him alike, ballot or no ballot.

P. P.

WOMAN IN INDIA.—Rev. Dr. Scudder, for many years a missionary to the East Indies, is giving lectures in Chicago, on that country. He said that he had lived twenty-seven years in India. What he had to say was gathered from actual experience, and not from books. He said the sacred books of India divide mankind into four classes—students, married men, hermits, and mendicants. Woman is not named. He said the Hindoo law-giver asserts that women are thoroughly vicious, and inwardly impure. The Hindoos believe in the right to flog their

wives with ropes. It is no uncommon thing with this people to see a woman having six husbands. A woman not only marries a man, but all his brothers, and in the absence of brothers, his cousins, or next of male kin. The manner in which men salute women, the Dr. said, is very peculiar. The women crouch to the ground before their high lord, and he touches his toes to their heads.

UNEXPECTED THRUST.—Mr. John B. Gough lectured one evening last week in Cooper Institute in behalf of the Working Women's Association of this city. In the newspapers he is reported as having "referred in a facetious way to the many female orators who waste time and breath in advocating what they please to term the Rights of Woman, and advised them to unite with the real friends of their sex and expend a little of their surplus energy in securing for their toiling sisters the right to labor, and the no less important right to be paid for it." Mr. Gough used to refer to the earnest and faithful workers in the Anti-Slavery cause in the same facetious manner, setting the vulgar crowd to laughing at them, as he did the other evening at "female orators." The women may not be "orators," as John Brutus Gough is, but his Cooper Institute address presented no claim, new nor old, for "working women" which has been overlooked in a single lecture ever given by the most prominent of the so-called and sneering-called "female orators" of the day in America or Great Britain.

P. P.

MRS. STANTON IN MICHIGAN.—The Flint, Genesee Democrat says, it was our good fortune to listen to the lecture of this deservedly popular lady at Fenton Hall on Saturday night last, on the subject of "Female Suffrage." Without endorsing, or refusing to endorse, all the positions assumed by Mrs. Stanton, we do not hesitate to pronounce the lecture as a very able and interesting one, clear in its logic, and without rhetorical fault. It was listened to by an appreciative audience, and we hope that at some future time Mrs. Stanton may visit Flint again.

"NATURAL PROTECTORS."—And this is the way a father protected his wife and sick child in Hyde Park, near Boston. Becoming vexed with the cries of his sick child, which prevented him from sleeping, he took up the cradle containing the infant and set it out of doors in a midnight rain storm. He then fastened the doors and windows so securely that it was two hours before the mother could get out to take care of the little one.

A CONTRAST.—The Springfield Republican says, Mrs. Dr. Lozier of New York, prosecuting a seducer for attempting to produce abortion, which not one man in a thousand who practices medicine would have the virtue to do, stands in shining contrast to the male dame Partingtons of Philadelphia, who expect to keep women out of practice by their protests and rows. Women will practice medicine, whether other physicians consult with them or not, and they ought to have every chance to be well instructed.

TENNESSEE.—A resolution was offered in the House of Representatives last week, requesting the Constitutional Convention to confer the right of Suffrage on women, and referred to a special committee.

THE NEW ASSOCIATION.

THE American Woman Suffrage Association, formed last month at Cleveland, has placed on its list of officers names of persons who are officers and members of The National Woman Suffrage Association formed last May in New York. Many of them have written me asking if they shall decline their appointment. To all, I will say as I did to Miss Lillie Peckham at Cleveland, when she begged me to tell her whether it would be right for her to accept office in the new society, "You must decide for yourself. I cannot advise you one way nor the other. You know the only possible necessity for the new society is to count out Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony, and ignore the National Association which they represent and THE REVOLUTION which they publish." And farther I will say now, that I never have refused, and never shall refuse to co-operate with any earnest man or woman or society that works for the enfranchisement of woman. I even went to Cleveland, though I knew the *half score* of getters-up of the Convention didn't want me there. I went to see and hear. And from the lips of the *prime movers* I didn't once hear the name of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, THE REVOLUTION, or The National Woman's Suffrage Association.

It is the *new* society that has "conscientious scruples" against working with the old. The old association welcomes to its platform everybody who believes in Equal Rights for women. It knows neither Jew or Gentile, old Abolitionist or Slaveholder, Republican or Democrat, Church member or Non-conformist—all are one, if they only speak brave words and do valiant works for the freedom of Woman.

Therefore, I do not advise anyone to refuse to co-operate with the Cleveland and every other society that really aims at Woman's Suffrage; but I do urge all to use their influence to educate the prejudiced and narrow-minded there and everywhere to a broader and more catholic spirit that shall embrace the whole human family, so that all the different organizations shall be melted into one during Anniversary Week next May.

The *legality, nationality* of the two is equally valid—the old was the spontaneous result of a meeting of earnest friends from *eighteen states*, in the Parlors of the Woman's Bureau at New York last May—the new is the outgrowth of six months' correspondence and a delegate meeting of *twenty-one states* in Case Hall, at Cleveland. As to aim, object, plan and purpose, there is no difference.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

THE Rev. C. S. Thompson, of Cincinnati, preached to young men on Sunday evening last, on the subject "Sins of Youth—A bitter inheritance for manhood." During a vivid illustration, prefaced with the words "Thou art the man," a Young man in the back part of the house sprang to his feet, and exclaimed, "Yes, I am the man," and, staggering two-thirds of the way up the aisle, sobbing, knelt and exclaimed, "Christians, pray for me." A pause for two minutes occurred in the sermon, while the congregation seemed petrified, and the discourse was then finished.

Alas for those boys that are sent to schools, colleges, into the byways and highways of the great outer world, where their mothers and sisters are forbidden to follow!

OLIVE LOGAN AND THE GIRLS.—Next Monday evening, Olive Logan is to repeat her Lecture on "Our Girls," at Cooper Institute. No other lecture has drawn such audiences during the season as this.

ADVICE TO GIRLS.

THE Rev. Olympia Brown, who preaches, we think, to a Universalist society in Bridgeport, Conn., writes to a friend that

"Miss Marianna Thompson, now a student at the Theological School, received, during her summer vacation, two invitations to settle with good societies, each of which offered her twelve hundred dollars per year. Pretty good for a school girl, I think."

Yes, that is very good; and we trust Miss Thompson will accept one of these (or a better) and do great good to her hearers. And, should some excellent young man ask her to "settle" with him as wife at no salary at all, we advise her to heed that "call" as well. We have not the least objection to a thousand young (or old) women being settled as pastors, provided they are qualified to prove good ones.—*N. Y. Tribune*.

For shame, Horace! You who talk so eloquently on the stimulating effect of wages, to thus advise the brilliant young graduate to work all her days for nothing, to have a pittance at last from John Doe as long she remains his widow! As wives are simply upper servants without wages, you had better, dear Marianna, consider the divine calls before those of any fallen man, that in due time you may have something to will to poor John, as long as he remains your widower.

"OUT, DAMNED SPOT!"—But the spot would not out at the royal bidding. But the *Anti-Slavery Standard* thinks by suppressing the name of Susan B. Anthony from reports of meetings, sent to it, and otherwise, and of THE REVOLUTION altogether from its columns, to silence the tongue that dared, three years ago, to dispute its odious doctrine of "the negro's hour." Cato said he would rather posterity should ask why Cato had not a monument, than why he had? Miss Anthony's name absent from the *Standard*, and in every other newspaper in the land, is no mean compliment to her, but what is it to the *Standard*? For a long time it proscribed the whole woman question. It does a good deal better than that now.

SUSPENSION.—The *Agitator* has ceased, but not the Agitation. The name only is to be changed. It tells its own story thus:

With this issue, the *Agitator* passes from our personal ownership and control, into the hands of a joint stock company, with an ample capital, who will continue its publication, in the interest of woman. The editorial corps will be composed of Mary A. Livermore, who will be managing editor, Julia Ward Howe, Lucy Stone, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, and T. W. Higginson. Contributors will also be secured in the West and South and in Europe. The paper will be published simultaneously in Boston and Chicago, and an office and headquarters will be sustained in the latter city. It will be somewhat changed in size and general arrangement, and will reappear with a new name. Its present name was not of our selection, and we have never been satisfied with it. The first number of the new paper will be issued January 1st, 1870. All business letters will be addressed, as heretofore, to D. P. Livermore, Chicago, Ill., until further announcement. Mrs. Livermore will be addressed until further notice, at 37 Cornhill, Boston, Mass. (care of Rev. Benton Smith).

THE WASHINGTON CONVENTION.—The National Woman's Suffrage Convention in Washington, on the 18th and 19th of January, promises to be by far the most important ever yet held. A spacious new hall has been secured, and the best speaking talent in the country is already engaged, including several members of the two houses of Congress.

WOMAN IN WYOMING.—The Wyoming Legislature have passed the Female Suffrage bill almost unanimously.

MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY.—OPEN THE DOOR.

IN Mrs. Stanton's lecture in Ann Arbor, she stated that several young ladies had applied for admission to the University. After the lecture several persons denied the fact and asked for proof. Here is the statement of one who knows what is going on behind the scenes. We publish this as an "eye opener" for the women of the State. The daughters of Michigan have a right to a free education in that institution which their property is taxed to support, and they must see that no Presidents, Regents, Professors, nor voters give this question the go by. Horace Greeley says the women will vote the moment they say they will. So will the Michigan University be opened to girls the moment the mothers of the state say it must be done:

ANN ARBOR, Mich., Nov. 22, 1869.

Mrs. STANTON—*Dear Madam*: Whatever may be said in regard to the interpretation of the laws and by-laws of the University of Michigan respecting the admission of ladies, it is generally understood that ladies are not to be admitted until there is a special act of the Board of Regents to that effect.

The statements which I made to you in regard to a young lady applying for admission, and to which you referred in your lecture here, are substantially *true*. The young lady graduated last June in the regular classical course in one of our Union schools, and was fully prepared for the classical course in the University.

There was considerable said here last year about admitting ladies. Indeed, at the March meeting of the Board of Regents the following resolution was introduced by Regent Willard, and laid upon the table, by a vote of five to three:

"Resolved, That in the opinion of the Board no rule exists in any of the University statutes which excludes women from admission to the University."

Yet it was confidently believed by many that this resolution would be passed at the June meeting of the Regents, and that the doors of the University would be thrown open to ladies at the beginning of this year.

The young lady, who wished to enter the University, desired some authoritative statement in regard to it, and not being acquainted with Dr. E. O. Haven, who was then President, she requested one of her friends to present her case.

This friend did so, and was informed by the President that he could not tell whether she would be admitted, or not, being uncertain what the Board would do in their June meeting.

The Regents, in their June meeting, took no action whatever in regard to it, and of course the young lady considered further application useless.

B. C.

THE BATHS.—That cleanliness precedes, or attends, true godliness everybody admits. One of the most healthful, hopeful signs of the times and of human progress is, that greater cleanliness of person and of habit prevails. Were there no rheumatisms to prevent, nor fevers to cure, still the Russian and Turkish baths, for cleanliness, and as a preventive to disease, would be in real value, beyond price. Dr. Angell, corner of Lexington Avenue and 25th Street, has enlarged his establishment until it exceeds in size any in the country; so that he now proposes like the Drs. Browning of the Russian baths in 4th street, between Bowery and Broadway, to combine a first-class boarding-house with the rest, though at prices which cannot fail to give satisfaction.

CHICAGO needs, more than anything else, 10,000 China men to act as domestics. Such a thing as a good, well-trained servant, is no more to be found here, than a living specimen of the mound builders. The few female servants that may be found are mainly interested in tree and back-door flirtations, with a view to early matrimony.—*Chicago Times*.

Are the Chinamen proof against "all area and back-door flirtations?" if so, let us ship those frolicksome girls to the Celestial City to learn obedience, sobriety and faithfulness.

LETTER FROM MRS. GAGE.

DEAR REVOLUTION: Have time for but a word. The work of the State organization is progressing. Petitions come pouring in. Received one a night or two ago from the Vice-President of Wayne County, containing nearly five hundred names! This lady, Mrs. Aldrich, is seventy-four years of age, a Quaker, and writes me such quaint, truthful letters that I am often moved to tears by them. Let me give a little extract from her last:

"I write now to inform thee that (though quite arduous work for me) I have got between four and five hundred names, most all of them very respectable names, too.... I told them our platform was broad and freedom for all, and so I pleasantly gained a good many.... I sympathize with thee much in thy work, but keep a good heart if thee can, for our cause is just, and as I believe proceeds from great Omnipotence, who careth for all his dependant children, both sons and daughters, and he will bring about this great work in his own time, and it is my faith and prayer for us all. Now in very much love to thee in which we feel the unity of our heavenly father in his love, blessed be his name.

ELIZABETH ALDRICH."

As I have stated, Mrs. Aldrich is seventy-four years of age, yet, although she broke her wrist early in the fall, she has visited various portions of Wayne County in her work as Vice-President since receiving her appointment.

Her letter is but one of very many encouraging ones I am in constant receipt of. Who of us can fail to see the near approach of our triumph when such noble workers as Mrs. Aldrich are in our ranks?

Although we appointed Vice-Presidents in but thirteen counties at the time of our organization, I have found workers in over fifty counties, and the work of organization is rapidly advancing. The cry for speakers comes up on every side, and to meet this demand, and also for the purpose of assisting in organization, I go next week into the western counties of the State. Will send you a list of my appointments when programme is made out. We now need half a dozen active speakers to work in this State alone.

M. E. JOSLYN GAGE,
Sec. N. Y. State Organization.

RHODE ISLAND.—The first of a series of lectures on Woman Suffrage, proposed to be given in the various towns and villages of the State, was delivered at Union Hall, Providence, Thursday afternoon, before the Woman Suffrage Association, by Mrs. Paulina W. Davis, President of the Association. The Providence papers contain a tolerable abstract of the most excellent address, an idea of which can be gathered from the closing paragraphs as below:

The installation of woman's rights will be the final triumph of the principle of self-government, and when that is established, political government in its present form will be at an end. When there are no slave classes and castes, there will be no army nor navy. When society is no longer separated into governors and governed there will be no force, and all this clumsy machinery, worn and useless, will be thrown aside. This must come, and that too through those stages of reform of which woman's emancipation is the last and greatest step. We look to no force, we accept no hope but from the goodness and nobleness of those who are in the light, and know the life of truth and right. We each claim the favor and sunshine of Heaven. Let all realize the strength and majestic presence of Duty in truth. It hath not yet entered into the heart of man to conceive the destiny of the human race, when they shall know the truth and accept it in love.

There is need for our being in deep earnest in the

matter. In a little while, when the Fifteenth Constitutional Amendment will be ratified, a large class of male voters will be admitted, less intelligent than those who have made our laws; and without the Sixteenth Amendment we have no security that the wise, liberal laws already made, may not be abrogated. I am always willing to accord praise where it is due, and I do not wish to be understood as desiring to withhold any right from another which I claim for myself or my sex. But the monstrous injustice to woman throughout this country in passing an act to open the ballot to every shade and type of man, would rouse if the last chill dews were upon me. Not because I am an abolitionist; but because I am not an abolitionist; but because I love my country more, and believe patriotism means something more than burning powder and flaunting flags—something more than party measures. A something broader and more humane than a man's government. A Republican government must mean the whole people, not an enforced minority which at this very time, so far as numbers go, is the majority, and these, too, taxed and held amenable to all the laws of the country. Oh, Justice! balancing the scales so evenly, thou art blind and false! The form of man should be the holder till might is dethroned by right.

ALL ABOUT WOMEN.

MRS. O'DONOVAN ROSSA.—Readers of THE REVOLUTION who have heard the dramatic readings of this gifted daughter of the Emerald Isle, will be gratified to learn that she has returned to the United States after a brilliant professional career through the Canadas. Meantime her husband, though still a state prisoner for his gallant efforts in behalf of his native land, has been elected to Parliament by one of the Irish districts.

OLIVE LOGAN in Western and Southwestern New York. The Owego Times, noticing her lecture last week in that town, is very complimentary to her appearance and performance, with a little country criticism of her style of dress, but closes by saying:

Her elocution is good, her utterance earnest, full and euphonius. The whole weight of her lecture is, of course, in favor of "Woman's Rights." Indeed, her appearance as a lecturer is an embodiment of her doctrine, and as such is worthy of all respect. Her denunciation of the shameless nudities of the stage was just and worthy of all honor. On the whole we believe her lecture may have a good effect on "girls," as it is calculated to stimulate them to cultivating their minds and strengthening their bodies. Weakness and debility, according to Olive, are no indices of a true lady.

A FLOR has been discovered in Galicia, it is said, for the sale of women into Turkish harems. The Austrian police laid hands on two floras who have carried on for some time this traffic. The letters of some of these victims are published, giving a harrowing account of the indignities to which they have been subjected, their children being sold to the Turks and they themselves placed at the mercy of the Pashas.

BURIAL OF A BELLE.—And in the Potter's Field, ignominiously, though only a few months ago she was counted among the "brilliants" as well as "fashionables" of the city. The papers say she died in a rear room of the fifth story of one of the most magnificently furnished and built houses in this city; and though she owned the furniture, many thousands of dollars worth, those who by her death became its owners to-day send her at the expense of the city of New York to a home in Potter's Field. She was the wife of the lately deceased Wm. H. Disbrow, once the well-known proprietor of Disbrow's riding academy. Her mother discarded her when she married against her will. So, deserted by her mother and robbed in her own home, her body is to be carried to-day to Potter's Field. She was 29 years old, was beautiful, always respectable, and only eighteen months ago her then fair form wore \$15,000

worth of diamonds. But, though always respectable, intelligent, virtuous, and all that, she was only a woman and a widow, with no rights which even "her mother," to say nothing of man, or men, need respect.

P. P.

THE vicinity of Drury Lane Theatre was recently blocked up by a crowd of women and children seeking to get employed to appear as "fairies" in the Christmas pantomime, and the police had to be in attendance to keep order in the surging crowd. A mother and her child together can make, if engaged as "fairies," about nine shillings a week.

MODEL MATRON.—The Iowa papers say that on Middle River, fourteen miles from Des Moines, Iowa, there is a lady aged 75 years, named Shook, who is hearty and active, and takes great pleasure in horseback-riding, her favorite pace being at a gallop. She, too, is a knitter, they say, and since the first of September has knit twenty-four pair of socks and four pairs of double mittens, which she takes to Des Moines for sale. What an example to her daughters and granddaughters!

WHAT IS THE MEANING OF THIS?

LETTER FROM JOHN NEAL.

At the Cleveland Convention, says a correspondent of the *World*:

A letter was read from William Lloyd Garrison approving the objects of the convention. In this letter the writer expresses the hope that "the organ of the convention, should it have one, will not mistake rashness for courage, folly for smartness, cunning for sagacity, unscrupulousness for fidelity, extravagance for devotion, effrontery for heroism, lunacy for genius, or an incongruous melange for a simple, palatable dish."

Is it a conundrum? Or must we believe that Mr. Garrison is not in his right mind? Not satisfied with sowing division among those who, if they are to succeed, *must* pull together; not satisfied with planting roots of bitterness among believers, and warring openly upon the Bible and the Church—under an idea, perhaps, that to him and his, we are indebted for the emancipation of our slaves, and that neither God Almighty nor Abraham Lincoln had anything to do with it, but only William Lloyd Garrison, he is now running a tilt—as if he mistook it for a windmill—against the only well-established organization of a national character for Woman's Suffrage, and the paper, THE REVOLUTION, the editor, the proprietor and all their coadjutors, if we may infer anything from his language, and especially from the word *organ* in the above extract.

Suppose we should answer with a correspondent conundrum.

Let the "organ" of this new Convention, which is to turn the world upside down by a new process—and without even resting-place—or a fulcrum—for its lever—"should it have one"—let it not mistake foolhardiness for generalship; dictatorial arrogance and headlong presumption for wisdom; impertinence for discretion; craft and trickery and misrepresentation for management; falsehood for faithfulness; insolence and vulgar pretension for the spirit of a law-giver and a reformer; outcries for inspiration; and profane balderdash for argument; nor even the trumpery and trash of a long-forgotten waste-basket or common-place book for the garnered wisdom of ages—nor spiteful insinuation for prophecy.

Portland, Me., Nov. 27, 1869.

MISS EMMA FARRAND is lecturing with great success in Vermont,

A PRETTY MUDDLE.

WHITE male citizenship may plume itself on its sublime wisdom and capacity to govern itself, and woman and everybody and everything. But sometimes an event reveals that capability in a not very enviable light. It has got its fourteenth amendment, and now see what comes of it in so simple a matter as taking the census so as to regulate the basis of Congressional representation. General Garfield was nearly all summer in compiling a digest containing the provisions of the National and State constitutions and laws relating to the right of suffrage. Having completed his work, he submitted the proofs of that portion relating to the States to their respective Governors for revision and correction. From all except two he has received replies. A *resume* of this very interesting document presents the following:

SUMMARY OF CLASSES.

Of male citizens of the United States, being twenty-one years of age, whose right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof is denied, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, and not including the States of Mississippi, Texas and Virginia.

ON ACCOUNT OF RACE OR COLOR.

Colored persons indirectly described by using the word "white" in the definition of voters—California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, Nevada, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania and West Virginia.

Negroes and mulattoes expressly excluded—Indiana and Oregon.

Chinamen expressly excluded—Oregon.

ON ACCOUNT OF RESIDENCE.

Persons residing on lands ceded by the State to the United States—Massachusetts (by judicial decision and not by the express terms of the constitution), Rhode Island.

In State less than three years, being a colored citizen and freedholder to the value of \$250—New York.

In State less than two years—Kentucky.

In State less than one year—Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania (if previously a resident of the State a man may regain residence as a voter in six months after his return), Rhode Island, South Carolina, Vermont, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

In State less than six months—Alabama, Arkansas, California, Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Nevada (six months of actual, not of constructive, residence), New Hampshire and Oregon.

In State less than four months—Minnesota.

In State less than three months—Maine and Michigan. In county less than six months—Florida and Tennessee.

In county less than five months—New Jersey.

In county less than four months—New York.

In county less than three months—Alabama.

In county less than sixty days—Iowa and South Carolina.

In county less than thirty days—Georgia, North Carolina, Ohio and West Virginia.

In parish less than ten days—Louisiana.

In county or district less than six months—Maryland and Nevada.

In county or district less than thirty days—California.

In county, city or town less than one year—Kentucky.

In county, city or town less than sixty days—Missouri.

In town or city less than six months—Rhode Island.

In township or ward less than thirty days—Kansas.

In township or ward less than ten days—Michigan.

In town or district less than six months—Massachusetts.

In town less than six months—Connecticut and New Hampshire.

In township, incorporated village or ward less than twenty days—Ohio.

In district or precinct, where they reside, less than sixty days—Kentucky; less than thirty days—New

York; less than ten days, Minnesota and Pennsylvania.

ON ACCOUNT OF WANTING PROPERTY QUALIFICATIONS, OR FOR NON-PAYMENT OF TAXES.

Those who have not paid all taxes which may have been required of them, and which they have had an opportunity of paying within the preceding year—Georgia.

Those who have not paid a poll tax, as law may require—Nevada.

Those excused from paying taxes at their own request—New Hampshire.

Those who have not paid any State or county tax, assessed within two years next preceding, unless by law exempted from taxation—Massachusetts.

Those over twenty-two who have not within two years paid a county tax, assessed at least six months before election—Delaware.

Those over twenty-two who have not within two years paid a State or county tax, assessed at least ten days before election—Pennsylvania.

Those who do not own real estate in the town or city, worth \$134 over and above all encumbrances, etc.; also those who have not paid a registry tax within either of two preceding years, unless remitted on account of absence at sea—Rhode Island.

Colored persons, not owning freeholds during one year next preceding election, worth \$250 over all encumbrances, and on which taxes have been assessed and paid—New York.

ON ACCOUNT OF WANT OF LITERARY QUALIFICATIONS.

Those unable to read an article in the constitution or any section of the statutes of the State—Connecticut.

Those unable to read the Constitution in the English language, and write their names, unless prevented by physical disability, or over sixty years of age when the amendment was adopted—Massachusetts.

ON ACCOUNT OF CHARACTER OR BEHAVIOR.

Those who do not sustain a good moral character—Connecticut.

Those who are not of a quiet and peaceful behavior—Vermont.

ON ACCOUNT OF SERVICE IN THE ARMY OR NAVY.

[In many of the States the Constitution declares that no person shall gain a residence by reason of being stationed on duty as an officer, soldier or marine in the service of the United States. In several instances the courts have decided that persons do not lose their right of voting when thus stationed if otherwise qualified.]

No officer, soldier or marine in the regular army or navy of the United States allowed to vote—Missouri.

ON ACCOUNT OF POVERTY, IDIOTCY OR INSANITY.

Those who are insane—Alabama, Arkansas, California, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Nevada, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island and Wisconsin.

Those who are idiotic—Alabama, Arkansas, California, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Nevada, New Jersey, Ohio and Oregon.

Those *non compos mentis*, or of unsound mind—Florida, Kansas, Minnesota, Rhode Island, South Carolina, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

Those under guardianship—Florida, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Rhode Island and Wisconsin.

Those who are under guardianship as a lunatic, or as a person *non compos mentis*—Maryland.

Those who are paupers—Delaware, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Rhode Island and West Virginia.

Persons supported in an almshouse or an asylum—South Carolina.

ON ACCOUNT OF NOT TAKING CERTAIN OATHS.*

[* The election laws of all the States prescribe forms of oaths to be taken where the right of a person to vote is challenged. In the States above mentioned an oath is required as an indispensable preliminary at first voting.]

Those not taking the oath of freemen—Connecticut and Vermont.

Those not taking oaths of loyalty and allegiance prescribed in the constitution—Florida and Missouri.

OTHER CLASSES DISQUALIFIED FROM VOTING.

Those who have not been citizens ten days before election—New York.

Those disqualified as electors in States from whence they came—Arkansas.

Showing the progress of American ideas in

constitutional law, it is a singular fact that the average age of the present American Constitutions, National included, is not more than sixteen years.

What a world of trouble so simple a rule as equal and impartial suffrage for all citizens would prevent! On with the woman cause, for economy as well as for justice's sake.

NATIONAL WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

CONSTITUTION.

Article 1.—This organization shall be called the National Woman's Suffrage Association.

Article 2.—Its object shall be to secure the Ballot to the Women of the nation on equal terms with men.

Article 3.—Any citizen of the United States favoring this object, shall, by the payment of the sum of one dollar annually into the treasury, be considered a member of the Association; and no other shall be entitled to vote in its deliberations.

Article 4.—The officers of the Association shall be a President, a Vice-President from each of the states and territories, Corresponding and Recording Secretaries, Treasurer, an Executive Committee of not less than five nor more than nine members, located in New York City, and an Advisory Council of one person from each state and territory, who shall be members of the National Executive Committee. The officers shall be chosen at each Annual Meeting of the National Association.

Article 5.—Any Woman's Suffrage Association may become auxiliary to the National Association, by its officers becoming members of the Parent Association and sending an Annual Contribution of not less than twenty-five dollars.

President—ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

Vice-Presidents.—Elizabeth B. Phelps, New York; Anna E. Dickinson, Penn.; Mrs. Kate N. Doggett, Illinois; Madame Anneke, Wisconsin; Mrs. Lucy R. Elmes, Conn.; Mrs. Israel Hall, Ohio; Mrs. Senator Henderson, Mo.; Mrs. Wm. V. Tunstall, Texas; Mattie Griffith Brown, Mass.; Hellen Ekin Stagg, Kansas; Lucy A. Snow, Maine; Elizabeth B. Schenck, Cal.; Grace Greenwood, D. C.; Mrs. Maria B. Matlock, La.; Mrs. P. Holmes Drake, Alabama.

Corresponding Secretaries.—Mrs. L. C. Bullard; A. Adelaide Hallock.

Recording Secretaries.—Abby Burton Crosby, Sarah E. Fuller.

Treasurer.—Elizabeth Smith Miller.

Wibour, Mathilde F. Wendl; Mary F. Gilbert, Mrs. D. Grant Meredith, Mrs. Lillie Devereux Blake, Susan E. Anthony.

Advisory Counsel.—Mrs. E. Joalyn Gage, N. Y.; Mrs. Francis Minor, Missouri; M. Adeline Thompson, Penn.; Josephine S. Griffin D. C.; Mrs. M. V. Longley, Ohio; Mrs. Mary Humphrey, Kansas; Lillie Peckham, Wisconsin; Mrs. Pauline Wright Davis, R. I.; Mrs. Fannie E. Russell, Minn.; Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker, Conn., John Neal, Maine.

We hope before our annual meeting in May to have auxiliaries in every state in the Union. Already we number thousands of members, and before the close of the year every woman in this nation should register her name with some association demanding the right of Suffrage for her sex, sign the petition to Congress, send in a generous contribution to carry on the work, subscribe for *THE REVOLUTION*, and, as a means of education, circulate it among your neighbors and friends.

WESTERN MANNERS.—The West is generally set down as ill-bred, rough, vulgar and barbarous every way. But the medical colleges there are open to women on equal terms with men, a spite of Philadelphia and Bellevue example. And when, in one Chicago college, it was proposed by the professor to admit women, the students, instead of behaving like blackguards, as did the Philadelphia students, received the proposition with enthusiastic applause. So, too, in the street cars in Chicago, colored persons ride unmolested, no such disgraceful outrages ever being perpetrated there as are often witnessed in Philadelphia.

WASHINGTON SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.—It meets every Saturday evening for discussions and business, lately, however, under difficulties. The *World's* correspondent, writing last Sunday, said:

The Woman's Suffrage Association met as usual last night, with a large attendance present, and a detachment of police to preserve the peace; but the disorderly scenes, consisting of interruptions and epithets, were again renewed, and the remarks of the male and female speakers were, as a consequence, cut short. There seems to be a design on the part of the Washington rowdies to break up the meetings, and the city press to ridicule and blackguard them; but the ladies composing the association intend to brave it out, and the Superintendent of Police says they shall be protected in their meetings.

CANVASSERS WANTED EVERYWHERE.—Women Lecturers, Teachers, Dressmakers, Postmistresses—yes, and Postmasters—are requested to forward subscriptions, retaining their commissions as above.

The following Petition was adopted by the National Woman's Suffrage Association at their meeting held at the Woman's Bureau, June 1: *To The Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:*

The undersigned men and women of the United States ask for the prompt passage by your Honorable bodies of a Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution, to be submitted to the Legislatures of the several States for ratification, which shall secure to all citizens the right of Suffrage, without distinction of sex.

THE SUBJECTION OF WOMEN.—Those who wish a copy of Mr. Mill's invaluable book, will see that their subscriptions and renewals for 1870 must be sent in immediately as the book will be sent out only until January.

A NEW JERSEY woman writes: "I am this moment obliged to pay \$4,500 taxes—a small fortune—besides \$325 commission to a Trustee for minors on money which never passed through his hands. Am I not right in wanting to vote?"

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Mrs. Samuel Burrows, wife of the private secretary of Secretary Fish, is going to Europe to perfect herself in medical lore, having completed a course of medical study in New York.

financial Department.

THE MONEY MARKET

closed easy on Saturday at 7 per cent. with exceptions on governments at 6 per cent. The weekly bank statement shows an increase of \$57,522 in loans, and the deposits are decreased \$807,355.

The following table shows the changes in the New York city banks this week compared with the preceding week:

Nov. 27.	Dec. 4.	Differences.
Loans, \$352,578,475	\$353,230,595	Inc. \$657,522
Specie, 29,587,505	30,583,595	Inc. 945,54

Circulation, 34,155,838 34,140,468 Dec. 15,370
Deposits, 183,597,365 182,690,140 Dec. 907,255
Legal-tenders, 48,151,890 45,989,274 Dec. 2,192,616

The exports of specie for the week were \$150,489, making the aggregate since January 1, \$30,600,407.

THE GOLD MARKET

was firmer at the close of Saturday, and ranged between 122½ and 123½.

The fluctuations in the gold market for the week were as follows:

Opening.	Highest.	Lowest.	Closing.
M'day, Nov. 29, 122	122	121½	121½
Tuesday, 30, 122	123½	121½	122½
Wed'day, Dec. 1, 122½	122½	121½	121½
Thursday, 2, 122½	122½	122½	122½
Friday, 3, 122½	122½	122½	122½
Saturday, 4, 122½	123½	122½	122½

THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET

was quiet at the close of the week, prime bankers sixty days sterling bills being quoted 108½ to 108¾, and eight 108½ to 109¾.

THE RAILWAY SHARE MARKET

was more active on Saturday and advanced, especially in Chicago and Northwestern, Lake Shore, Reading and Rock Island.

The following are the closing quotations:

Cumberland, 25½ to 26; W. F. & Co. Ex., 18 to 19; American, 37 to 37½; Adams, 57½ to 58; United States 50 to 51; Merch. Union, — to —; Quicksilver, 15½ to 15¾; Canon, 50 to —; Pacific Mail, 50½ to 50¾; West. Un. Tel., 34½ to 35; N. Y. C. & H. R. stk. 90 to 90½; Erie, 26½ to 26¾; Erie preferred, 45 to 46; Reading, 98½ to 99; Tol. & Wab., 55 to —; Tol. & Wab. preferred, — to —; Mil. & St. Paul, 69½ to 69¾; Mil. & St. Paul preferred, 64½ to 64¾; Fort Wayne, 80½ to 87; Ohio & Miss., 25½ to 25¾; Michigan Central, — to —; L. S. & M. So., 85½ to 85¾; Illinois Central, 134½ to 107½; N. Western, 74½ to 74¾; N. Western pref. 86½ to 88½; Mariposa, 8 to 8½; Mariposa preferred, 15½ to 15¾.

UNITED STATES SECURITIES

were more active and higher at the close of the week.

Fisk & Hatch, 5 Nassau street, report the following quotations:

United States currency sixes, 107½ to 107¾; United States sixes, 1881, registered, 116½ to 116¾; United States sixes, 1881, coupon, 116½ to 116¾; United States five-twentieths, registered, May and November, 111½ to 112½; United States five-twentieths, coupon, 1862, May and November, 114½ to 114¾; United States five-twentieths, coupon, 1864, May and November, 112½ to 112¾; United States five-twentieths, coupon, 1865, May and November, 112½ to 113; United States five-twentieths, registered, January and July, 110½ to 110¾; United States five-twentieths, 1865, coupon, January and July, 114½ to 114¾; United States five-twentieths, coupon, 1867, January and July, 114½ to 114¾; United States five-twentieths, coupon, 1869, January and July, 114½ to 114¾; United States ten-twenties, registered, 107 to 107½; United States ten-twenties, coupon, 1869, 108½ to 108¾.

THE CUSTOM DUTIES

for the week were \$1,846,145 gold against \$1,804,453 \$2,009,183 and \$1,176,380 for the preceding weeks. The imports of merchandise for the week were \$5,521,529 gold, against \$4,182,197, \$3,148,851, and \$4,102,960 for the preceding weeks. The exports, exclusive of specie, were \$6,078,197 in currency against \$4,068,188, \$5,800,937, and \$4,901,510 for the preceding weeks. The exports of specie were \$150,489 against \$161,704, \$172,074, and \$133,221 for the preceding weeks.

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